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HEROES  
OF THE  
REVOLUTION:

COMPRISING  
LIVES OF OFFICERS

WHO WERE DISTINGUISHED IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

EDITED BY  
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# THE HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION.

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## GEORGE WASHINGTON.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born on the 22d of February, 1732, on the banks of the river Potomac, in Virginia. His father dying when he was ten years old, he received a plain but useful education at the hands of his mother. He soon manifested a serious and contemplative disposition, and in his thirteenth year drew up a code of regulations for his own guidance, in which the germs are visible of those high principles which regulated his conduct in mature life. As a boy, he conceived a liking for the naval service, but, being dissuaded from this, he qualified himself for the occupation of a land-surveyor; and, at the age of eighteen, obtained, through his relation, Lord Fairfax, the office of Surveyor of the Western District of Virginia. This introduced him to the notice of Governor Dinwiddie, and in the following

year he was appointed one of the Adjutant-Generals of Virginia, with the duty of training the militia.

The boundaries of the British and French possessions in America were at that time subjects of dispute. In 1753 Washington was sent on a mission to the French settlement on the Ohio, which he executed successfully; and on his return published a journal of his route, which attracted much notice. In the following year he was less fortunate, being taken prisoner with his party, while in command of an expedition against the French. Being allowed to return home, he withdrew from the service, and went to reside at Mount Vernon, an estate which descended to him on the death of an elder brother. In 1755 he accepted the rank of Aide-de-camp to General Braddock, and was present at the surprise of the British in the woods near the Monongahela, where his coolness, courage, and knowledge of Indian warfare, chiefly contributed to the preservation of a handful of the troops. He escaped unhurt, but had three horses killed under him, and his dress was four times pierced with rifle-balls. Having gained much credit by his conduct on this occasion, Washington was next employed to defend the western



frontier against the incursions of the French and Indians. He concluded this harassing service at the end of four years, by reducing Fort du Quesne, and driving the French beyond the Ohio; and then resigned his commission.

After his return to Mount Vernon, in 1759, Washington married; and during the next fourteen years his time was divided between his duties as a member of the Colonial Assembly and agricultural pursuits, in which he took great interest. The disputes which preceded the Revolution again drew him from private life. He maintained that the Americans were entitled to all the rights of British subjects, and could not be taxed by a legislature in which they were not represented; and he recommended that, on the failure of peaceful and constitutional resistance, recourse should be had to arms. In 1774 the command of the troops raised by Virginia was given to him; and in 1775 he represented that State in the Convention held at Philadelphia. When the war began, Washington was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the American Army; an office which he accepted without remuneration, saying, that emolument would not have tempted him to forego the pleasures of private life, and that he should only require to have his

expenses reimbursed. His private letters have since proved that his object, at that time, was not to procure separation from England; but his alacrity in entering into the contest, and his constancy throughout its continuance, refute the insinuation, only countenanced by certain forged letters, that he was not hearty in the cause of independence.

About fourteen thousand people were at this time collected around Boston, where General Gage was held in a state of siege. Washington reached the colonial camp in July, 1775, and proceeded to give to the assembled multitude the form and discipline of a regular force. His next endeavours were to extend the period for which men enlisting were obliged to serve, and to ensure the maintenance of the troops by appointing a Commissary-General to collect supplies, instead of depending for them on the voluntary and uncertain contributions of the several States. Neither of these wishes was complied with, and the want of every requisite obliged Washington to change the siege into a blockade, until the following March, when, having obtained artillery and engineers, he forced the English to give up the town and embark on board their fleet. His conduct during

this siege is admirable, both for the resolution with which he maintained the blockade with an inferior army composed of untried men, and the patience with which he endured the reproaches of the people, to whom the real difficulties of his situation, with respect to arms and ammunition, could not be disclosed. He also established the principle, that captured Americans should be treated as prisoners of war.

In April, 1776, Washington anticipated the British in occupying New York, and the adjacent islands. Before the arrival of Lord Howe, in July, independence was proclaimed; and the American general refused to negotiate unless acknowledged as the functionary of an independent government, saying, that America, being her own mistress, and having committed no fault, needed no pardon. A severe defeat on Long Island, and subsequent losses, compelled him to abandon the State of New York to the English, to retreat with great loss through New Jersey, and to take shelter behind the Delaware, near Philadelphia. He showed much skill in preventing the British from taking advantage of these reverses, which he sought to repair by surprising their posts at Trenton and Princetown, in Jersey, where he

made many hundred prisoners. These successes were well timed, and revived the broken spirit of the country.

In 1777 Washington applied to Congress for more extensive powers, which were granted him, with the title of Dictator, by which he was empowered to act on his own responsibility in all military affairs. But he was not supplied with the means of acting effectually; and the campaign of that year was one of misfortunes, the Americans being defeated at Brandywine, and forced to yield Philadelphia to the English. During the winter months Washington occupied a fortified camp at Valley Forge, and his army, ill-supplied with ammunition and provisions, was daily in danger of being destroyed by hunger or the enemy. He freely expressed his opinion to Congress of their misconduct, and his remarks occasioned a faction which desired to displace him from his command, and to substitute General Gates; but this was never seriously attempted.

The campaign of 1778 was favourable to Washington; he recovered Philadelphia, and following Clinton in his retreat through New-Jersey, brought him to action at Monmouth. The issue of this engagement gave new confi-

dence to the people, and completely restored him to the good will of Congress. During the years 1779 and 1780 the war was actively carried on in the South, and Carolina and Virginia were reduced by the British. In the autumn of 1780 Major Andre, who had been sent by Clinton to concert with Arnold measures for betraying the post at West Point, was seized within the American lines, and tried and hanged as a spy. Whatever were the merits or misfortunes of the British officer, the duty of Washington was too plain to be mistaken, and the obloquy he incurred in its performance was undeserved.

Washington had throughout contended that the country could only be delivered by raising a permanent army, and consolidating the union of the States, so as to form a vigorous government. Five years' experience had taught Congress the inefficiency of temporary armies, and they resolved to form a permanent one with a system of half-pay and pensions, as an inducement to enter the service. But as the government of each State was empowered to levy its own taxes, and conduct all the measures for carrying this resolve into effect, such delay was occasioned, that although Count

Rochambeau arrived from France in August, 1780, with an auxiliary force of five thousand men, the American army could not actively co-operate with him during that year.

The temporising policy pursued by the States had severely tried the constancy of Washington, but did not lead him to despair of final success. The army, suffering extreme want, was kept in the field chiefly by attachment to his person. Attentive to alleviate their hardships, he did not permit any disorderly license; and although early in 1781 he allowed Congress to pacify the revolted troops, he, on a second occasion, shortly after, forcibly compelled the mutineers to submit, and summarily tried and executed many of them.

The pecuniary aid of France, and increased activity of the American Government, enabled Washington to resume offensive measures in the summer of 1781. Earl Cornwallis, then in Virginia, and but feebly opposed by La-Fayette, sent a part of his army to strengthen Clinton in New York. Shortly after De Grasse arrived off the coast of Virginia with a French fleet. Washington took advantage of this conjuncture to transfer the war to the South. Deceiving Clinton as to his real design, he

marched rapidly through New Jersey and Maryland, and, embarking his army on the Chesapeake, effected a junction at Williamsburg with La Fayette. By the combined operation of their forces, assisted by the fleet under De Grasse, Lord Cornwallis was compelled to surrender at York Town, with his whole force, October 19, after a siege of thirteen days. This event decided the war; but Washington remained watchful to preserve the advantages gained, and to provide for future contingencies, until 1783, when a general peace was concluded.

Washington then prepared to resume his station as a private citizen. The army had become disaffected towards the States, and appeared not unwilling to subvert the freedom of their country, if the general had sought his own aggrandisement. But he nobly rejected all such schemes, and persuaded the soldiers to return home, and trust to the assurance of Congress for the discharge of the arrears due to them. Having publicly taken leave of his officers, he repaired to Annapolis, and December 23, 1783, appeared in Congress, and resigned his commission. He also presented the account of his receipts and expenditure during the late

war, the items of which were entered in his own handwriting. His expenditure amounted to £19,306, and it subsequently appeared that he had applied considerable sums of his own to the public service, which he neglected to claim. He asked no favour or reward for himself, except that his letters should be free from postage, but he strongly recommended to Congress the claims of his late army.

Having delivered a farewell address to Congress, and forwarded one of a like character to the government of each State, pointing out the advantages they at present possessed, and giving his advice as to the future conduct of their affairs, he retired to Mount Vernon to enjoy the pleasures of private life. But although the next two years were passed in retirement, the mind of Washington was actively directed to public affairs. Beside maintaining a correspondence with the most eminent men, as well in Europe as in his own country, he was engaged in various projects to promote the agricultural and commercial interests of his native State. Under his direction, companies were formed to improve the navigation of the rivers James and Potomac, thus making Virginia the trading mart of the Western States. A number of shares



in the James River Company, which were presented to him in 1785 by the legislature of Virginia, he employed in founding the college in Virginia, now called by his name. His deference to the popular feelings and prejudices on the subject of liberty was shown in his conduct with regard to the Cincinnati, a military society of which he was president, instituted to commemorate the occurrences of the late war. An outcry was raised that the honours conferred by this society being hereditary, a titled order would be created in the State. Washington therefore prevailed on the members to annul the offensive regulations, and to agree that the society should cease at the termination of their lives.

The want of union amongst the States, and the incapacity of the government, engaged the attention of every able man in America, and more especially interested Washington, who desired to witness the establishment of a great republic. The principal defect of the existing government was, that no acts of Congress in forming commercial treaties, borrowing money, or introducing national regulations, were binding on the individual States, each of which pursued its own interests, without showing any

disposition to redeem the engagements of the government with the public creditors, either at home or abroad. Washington's principles were democratic ; but he was opposed to those who contended for the absolute independence of the individual States, being convinced that each must sacrifice a portion of its liberty for the security of the whole, and that, without an energetic central government, the confederation would be insignificant. His representations to the Congress and the individual States, backed by the increasing distress of the country, at length brought about the Convention of Philadelphia, which met in May, 1787, and having chosen Washington president, continued sitting until September, when the federal constitution was finally decided on, and was submitted to the States for their approval.

Having acquitted himself of this duty, Washington retired to private life until March, 1789, when he was elected President of the United States. He had used no exertion to obtain this distinction, which his impaired health and love of retirement rendered unsuitable to him : he, however, accepted it, and his journey to New York was one continued triumph. April 30, he took the oaths prescribed by the constitution,

and delivered his inaugural address, in which he dwelt most fully on his own reasons for again entering on public life, and on the duties incumbent upon members of the Congress. He declared that he would receive no remuneration for his services, and required that a stated sum should be allowed for defraying the expenses of his office.

The President of the Union being a new political personage, it became requisite to establish certain observances of etiquette towards him. Washington's arrangements in this respect were sufficiently simple, yet they excited jealousy, as savouring of regal and courtly customs. The restriction placed on the admission of idle visitors, who hourly intruded on him, caused much offence, and became the subject of remonstrance, even from intelligent men.

One of the first acts of Washington's administration was to empower the legislature to become responsible for the general debt of the States, and to levy taxes for the punctual discharge of the interest upon it. The operation of the new government was in every respect satisfactory, its beneficial influence being apparent in the increasing prosperity of

the country ; and before the end of the second year's presidency, Rhode Island and North Carolina, which at first were dissentient, desired to participate in the benefits of the Union, and were admitted as members. In 1790 Washington concluded a treaty with the hostile Indians on the Southern frontier ; but the war which he directed against the Indians on the North Western frontier was unfortunate, the American forces sustaining three severe defeats. Upon the whole, however, the period of his first presidency passed over prosperously and tranquilly. He was annoyed by occasional differences in his cabinet, and by the discontent of the anti-federal party ; but being supported by John Adams, Hamilton, and other able men, his government suffered no real embarrassment.

In 1792, as he possessed the general confidence of the people, he was unanimously re-elected President ; and in March, 1793, again took the oaths of office. The French Revolution was hailed with joy by the Americans, among whom an almost universal wish prevailed to assist in establishing, as they thought, true freedom in Europe. But Washington perceived that the real interests of his country required peace. He acknowledged the govern-

ment of the French Republic, and sent an ambassador to Paris; but declared his resolution to adopt a strict neutrality in the contest between France and the allied powers of Europe. Still the enthusiasm in favour of the French continued to increase; and, at the instigation of M. Genet, envoy from Paris, privateers were armed in the American ports, and sent to cruise against the British. Washington promptly suppressed this practice; and the conduct of Genet having been intemperate and insolent towards the President, and calculated to produce serious disturbance in the States, he took the requisite steps for having him recalled.

The determination of the President to preserve peace was not the only ground of popular discontent. The imposition of excise taxes, as they were termed by the people, excited serious murmurings; and, in 1794, a general rising took place in Pennsylvania, which was put down without bloodshed by a vigorous display of force, and the principals, after being condemned to death, were pardoned.

The ferment among the people made a war with England seemingly unavoidable. Washington, at this juncture, appointed Mr. Jay envoy to England, with full powers to conclude

a treaty, in which all points then at issue between the two nations should be adjusted. With the concurrence of the Senate he ratified this treaty, regardless of the outcry raised against it; and subsequently upheld the authority of the President, in refusing to permit the House of Representatives to revise the articles it contained. The people soon perceived that the advantages to be derived from the contentions in Europe made it impolitic for their own country to become a party to them, and confidence and good will towards the President were in a great measure restored. These favourable dispositions were confirmed by the termination of a successful war against the Indians, and by a treaty with Spain, by which the navigation of the Mississippi to the Ocean was secured to the Americans.

Among the acts which immediately proceeded from Washington during his presidency, were those for forming a fund to pay off the national debt, and for organising the militia of the country. He was active and assiduous in his duties as chief magistrate, making tours through the States, and ascertaining the progressive improvement in each, and the means which would most tend to increase it. The

limited powers conferred on the President prevented his effecting so much as he desired, and the public measures originating from him were but few. He declined being nominated a third time to the office of President, and on his retirement published an address to the people of the United States, in which, after remarking on the condition and prospects of the country, he insisted on the necessity of cementing the union of the States, and upholding the supremacy of the Federal Government; he also advised them never to admit the influence of foreign powers, and to reap benefit from the quarrels amongst the States of Europe, by remaining at peace with all.

Washington passed the rest of his days at Mount Vernon, engaged in the society of his friends, and in the improvement of his estate. He was for several years a member of the British Agricultural Association; and the efforts he made to form a similar society in America, and his letters to Sir John Sinclair, (a fac-simile copy of which is deposited in the British Museum,) show the interest he took in agricultural affairs. He died December 13, 1799, in his sixty-eighth year, after a few days' illness, and was buried at Mount Vernon. He

left no family. Congress suspended its sitting on receiving the intelligence of his death, and a public mourning was ordered for him.

In person, Washington was robust, and above the middle height. He was thoughtful and reserved, without being repulsive; and his manners were those of the old school of English gentlemen. Although mild and humane, he was stern in the performance of duty, and never, upon such occasions, yielded to softness or compassion. His speeches and official letters are simple and earnest, but wanting perhaps in that conciseness, which marks vigour of thought. Whilst President, he was assailed by the violence of party spirit. On his decease his worth was justly appreciated, and the sorrow at his loss was universal and sincere. Washington was distinguished less by the brilliancy of his talents than by his moral goodness, sound judgment, and plain but excellent understanding. His admirable use of those sterling, though homely qualities has gained a rank for him among the greatest and best of men; and his name will be coexistent, as it was coeval, with that of the empire, of which, no less by his rare civil wisdom than



his eminent military talents, he may be considered the founder.

The virtues which distinguish him from all others who have united the fame of statesman and captain, were two-fold, and they are as great as they are rare. He refused power which his own merit had placed within his reach, constantly persisting in the preference of a republican to a monarchical form of government, as the most congenial to liberty when it is not incompatible with the habits of the people and the circumstances of society; and he even declined to continue longer than his years seemed to permit at the head of that commonwealth which he had founded. This subjugation of all ambitious feelings to the paramount sense of duty is his first excellence; it is the sacrifice of his own aggrandisement to his country's freedom. The next is like unto it; his constant love of peace when placed at the head of affairs: this was the sacrifice of the worthless glory which ordinary men prize the most, to the tranquillity and happiness of mankind. Wherefore to all ages and in all climes, they who most love public virtue will hold in eternal remembrance the name of

George Washington ; never pronouncing it but with gratitude and awe, as designating a mortal removed above the ordinary lot of human frailty.

The words of his last will in bequeathing his sword to his nephews—the sword which he had worn in the sacred war of liberty—ought to be graven in letters of gold over every palace in the world : “ This sword they shall never draw but in defence of freedom, or of their country, or of their kindred ; and when thus drawn, they shall prefer falling with it in their hands to the relinquishment thereof.”

For farther information we refer to the works of Ramsay and Marshall ; and to the Correspondence of Washington, published by Mr. Sparkes.

## NATHANIEL GREENE,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

GENERAL GREENE, although descended from ancestors of elevated standing, was not indebted to the condition of his family for any part of the real lustre and reputation he possessed. He was literally the founder of his own fortune, and the author of his own fame. He was the second son of Nathaniel Greene, a member of the society of Friends, an anchor-smith.

He was born in the year 1741, in the town of Warwick, and county of Kent, in the province of Rhode Island. Being intended by his father for the business which he himself pursued, young Greene received at school nothing but the elements of a common English education. But to him, an education so limited was unsatisfactory. With such funds as he was able to raise, he purchased a small, but well-selected library, and spent his evenings, and all the time he could redeem from his father's business, in regular study.

At a period of life unusually early, Greene was elevated, by a very flattering suffrage, to a

seat in the legislature of his native colony. This was the commencement of a public career, which, heightening as it advanced, and flourishing in the midst of difficulties, closed with a lustre that was peculiarly dazzling.

Thus introduced into the councils of his country, at a time when the rights of the subject, and the powers of the ruler, were beginning to be topics of liberal discussion, he felt it his duty to avow his sentiments on the momentous question. Nor did he pause or waver, as to the principles he should adopt, and the decision he should form. He was inflexibly opposed to tyranny and oppression in every shape, and manfully avowed it. But his character, although forming, was not completely developed until the commencement of the troubles which terminated in our independence. It was then that he aspired to a head in the public councils; and throwing from him, as unsuitable to the times, the peaceful habits in which he had been educated, sternly declared for a redress of grievances, or open resistance. This open departure from the sectarian principles in which he had been educated, was followed, of course, by his immediate dismissal from the society of Friends.

The sword was earliest unsheathed in the colony of Massachusetts; and on the plains of Lexington and Concord, the blood of British soldiers and American subjects mingled first in hostile strife. Nor was Rhode Island, after that sanguinary affair, behind her sister colonies, in gallantry of spirit and promptitude of preparation.

Greene commenced his military pupilage in the capacity of a *private soldier*, in October, 1774, in a military association, commanded by James M. Varnum, afterward brigadier-general. But Rhode Island having, in the month of May, 1775, raised three regiments of militia, she placed them under the command of Greene, who, without loss of time, conducted them to head-quarters, in the village of Cambridge.

On the 2d of July, 1775, General Washington, invested by Congress with the command in chief of the armies of his country, arrived at Boston. Greene availed himself of an early opportunity, amid the public demonstration of joy, to welcome the commander-in-chief, in a personal address, in which, with much warmth of feeling and kindness of expression, he avowed his attachment to his person, and the high gratification he derived from the prospect

of being associated with him in arms, and serving under him in defence of the violated rights of his country.

This was a happy prelude to a friendship between these two great and illustrious officers, which death alone had the power to dissolve. It is a fact of notoriety, that when time and acquaintance had made him thoroughly acquainted with the character and merits of General Grene, Washington entertained, and frequently expressed, an anxious wish, that in case of his death he might be appointed his successor to the supreme command.

During the investment of Boston by the American forces, a state of things which lasted for months, no opportunity presented itself to Greene to acquire distinction by personal exploit. But his love of action, and spirit of adventure, were strongly manifested; for he was one of the few officers of rank who concurred with General Washington in the propriety of attempting to carry the town by assault.

On the evacuation of Boston by the British, the American troops were permitted to repose from their toils, and to exchange, for a time, the hardships and privations of a field encamp-

ment for the enjoyment of plenty in comfortable barracks. During this period of relaxation, Greene continued with unabating industry his military studies, and as far as opportunity served, his attention to the practical duties of the field. This course, steadily pursued, under the immediate supervision of Washington, could scarcely fail to procure rank, and lead to eminence. Accordingly, August 26, 1776, he was promoted by Congress to the rank of major-general in the regular army.

A crisis, most glowing and portentous to the cause of freedom, had now arrived. In the retreat which now commenced through New-Jersey, General Washington was accompanied by General Greene, and received from him all the aid that, under circumstances so dark and unpromising, talents, devotion, and firmness could afford. Possessed alike of an ardent temperament, hearts that neither danger nor misfortune could appal, and an inspiring trust in the righteousness of their cause, it belonged to the character of these two great and illustrious commanders, never for a moment to despair of their country. Hope and confidence, even now, beamed from their countenances, and they encouraged their followers, and sup-

ported them under the pressure of defeat and misfortune.

Greene was one of the council of Washington who resolved on the enterprise of December 26, 1776, against the post of the enemy at Trenton. The issue is known, and is glorious in our history. About one thousand Hessians, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with their arms, field-equipage, and artillery, were the trophies of that glorious morning, which opened on the friends of American freedom with the day-star of hope. He was again of the council of the commander-in-chief, in planning the daring attack, January 2, 1777, on the British garrison at Princeton, as well as his associate in achieving its execution. In both these brilliant actions, his gallantry, prudence, and skill being alike conspicuous, he received the applauses of his commander. He continued the associate and most confidential counsellor of Washington through the gloomy and ominous period that followed.

In the obstinate and bloody battle of Brandywine, General Greene, by his distinguished conduct, added greatly to his former renown. In the course of it, a detachment of American troops, commanded by General Sullivan, being



unexpectedly attacked by the enemy, retreated in disorder, General Greene, at the head of Weedon's Virginia brigade, flew to their support. On approaching, he found the defeat of General Sullivan a perfect rout. Not a moment was to be lost. Throwing himself into the rear of his flying countrymen, and retreating slowly, he kept up, especially from his cannon, so destructive a fire, as greatly to retard the advance of the enemy. Aiming at length at a narrow defile, secured on the right and left by thick woods, he halted, sent forward his cannon, that they might be out of danger, in case of his being compelled to a hasty retreat, and formed his troops, determined to dispute the pass with his small arms. This he effected with complete success, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the assailants; until, after a conflict of more than an hour and a half, night came on, and brought it to a close. But for this quick-sighted interposition, Sullivan's detachment must have been nearly annihilated.

On this occasion only did the slightest misunderstanding ever occur between General Greene and the commander-in-chief. In his general orders after the battle, the latter neglected to bestow any special applause on

Weedon's brigade. Against this General Greene remonstrated in person.

General Washington replied, "You, sir, are considered my favourite officer. Weedon's brigade, like myself, are Virginians. Should I applaud them for their achievement under your command, I shall be charged with partiality: jealousy will be excited, and the service injured."

"Sir," exclaimed Greene, with considerable emotion, "I trust your excellency will do me the justice to believe that I am not selfish. In my own behalf I have nothing to ask. Act towards *me* as you please; I shall not complain. However richly I prize your excellency's good opinion and applause, a consciousness that I have endeavoured to do my duty constitutes, at present, my richest reward. But do not, sir, let me entreat you, on account of the jealousy that may arise in little minds, withhold justice from the brave fellows I had the honour to command."

Convinced that prudence forbade the special notice requested, the commander-in-chief persisted in his silence. Greene, on cool reflection, appreciated the motive of his general, and lost no time in apologizing for his intemperate

manner, if not for his expressions. Delighted with his frankness and magnanimity, Washington replied with a smile, "An officer, tried as you have been, who errs but once in two years, deserves to be forgiven." With that he offered him his hand, and the matter terminated.

Following General Greene in his military career, he next presents himself on the plains of Germantown. In this daring assault he commanded the left wing of the American army, and his utmost endeavours were used to retrieve the fortune of the day, in which his conduct met the approbation of the commander-in-chief. Lord Cornwallis, to whom he was often opposed, had the magnanimity to bestow upon him a lofty encomium. "Greene," said he, "is as dangerous as Washington. He is vigilant, enterprising, and full of resources. With but little hope of gaining any advantage over him, I never feel secure when encamped in his neighbourhood."

At this period the quartermaster department in the American army was in a very defective and alarming condition, and required a speedy and radical reform: and General Washington declared, that such reform could be effected only by the appointment of a quartermaster-

general, of great resources, well versed in business, and possessing practical talents of the first order. When requested by Congress to look out for such an officer, he at once fixed his eye on General Greene.

Washington well knew that the soul of Greene was indissolubly wedded to the duties of his line. Notwithstanding this, he expressed, in conversation with a member of Congress, his entire persuasion, that if General Greene could be convinced of his ability to render his country greater services in the quartermaster department than in the field, he would at once accept the appointment. "There is not," said he, "an officer of the army, nor a man in America, more sincerely attached to the interests of his country. Could he best promote their interests in the character of a *corporal*, he would exchange, as I firmly believe, without a murmur, the epaulet for the knot. For although he is not without ambition, that ambition has not for its object the highest rank so much as the *greatest good*."

When the appointment was first offered to General Greene, he declined it; but after a conference with the commander-in-chief, he consented to an acceptance, on condition that

he should forfeit nothing of his right to command in time of action. On these terms he received the appointment, March 22, 1778, and entered immediately on the duties of the office.

In this station he fully answered the expectations formed of his abilities; and enabled the American army to move with additional celerity and vigour.

During his administration of the quartermaster department, he took, on two occasions, a high and distinguished part in the field; the first in the battle of Monmouth; the second, in a very brilliant expedition against the enemy in Rhode Island, under the command of General Sullivan. At the battle of Monmouth, the commander-in-chief, disgusted with the behaviour of General Lee, deposed him in the field of battle, and appointed General Greene to command the right wing, where he greatly contributed to retrieve the errors of his predecessor, and to the subsequent events of the day.

His return to his native state was hailed by the inhabitants with general and lively demonstrations of joy. Even the leading members of the society of Friends, who had reluctantly excluded him from their communion, often

visited him at his quarters, and expressed their sincere satisfaction at the elevation he had attained in the confidence of his country. One of these plain gentlemen being asked in jest, by a young officer, how he, as an advocate of peace, could reconcile it to his conscience to keep so much company with General Greene, whose profession was war? promptly replied, "Friend, it is not a suit of uniform that can either make or spoil a man. True, I do not approve of this many-coloured apparel, (to the officer's dress,) but whatever may be the form or colour of his coat, Nathaniel Greene still retains the same sound head and virtuous heart that gained him the love and esteem of our Society."

During the year 1779, General Greene was occupied exclusively in the extensive concerns of the quartermaster department.

About this time General Greene was called to the performance of a duty the most trying and painful he had ever encountered. We allude to the melancholy affair of Major Andre, adjutant-general to the British army, who was captured in disguise within the American lines. Washington detailed a court for this trial, composed of fourteen general officers, La

Fayette and Steuben being two of the number, and appointed General Greene to preside.

When summoned to his trial, Andre frankly disclosed, without interrogatory, what bore heaviest on his own life, but inviolably concealed whatever might endanger the safety of others. His confessions were conclusive, and no witness was examined against him. The court were unanimous that he had been taken as a spy, and must suffer death. Of this sentence he did not complain, but wished that he might be permitted to close a life of honour by a professional death, and not be compelled, like a common felon, to expire on a gibbet. To effect this, he made, in a letter to General Washington, one of the most powerful and pathetic appeals that ever fell from the pen of a mortal.

Staggered in his resolution, the commander-in-chief referred the subject, accompanied by the letter, to his general officers, who, with one exception, became unanimous in their desire that Andre should be shot.

That exception was found in General Greene, the president of the court. "Andre," said he, "is either a spy or an innocent man. If the latter, to execute him in any way will be

murder : if the former, the mode of his death is prescribed by law, and you have no right to alter it. Nor is this all. At the present alarming crisis of our affairs, the public safety calls for a solemn and impressive example. Nothing can satisfy it short of the execution of the prisoner as a common spy ; a character of which his own confession has clearly convicted him. Beware how you suffer your feelings to triumph over your judgment. Indulgence to one may be death to thousands. Besides, if you shoot the prisoner, instead of hanging him, you will excite suspicion which you will be unable to allay. Notwithstanding all your efforts to the contrary, you will awaken public compassion, and the belief will become general, that, in the case of Major Andre, there were exculpatory circumstances, entitling him to lenity, beyond what he received—perhaps entitling him to pardon. Hang him, therefore, or set him free.”

This reasoning being considered conclusive, the prisoner suffered as a common spy.

We have now advanced to that period of the revolutionary war in which the situation of Greene is about to experience an entire change. No longer acting in the vicinity, or subject to



the immediate orders of a superior, we are to behold him, in future, removed to a distance, and virtually invested with the supreme command of a large section of the United States.

Congress, dissatisfied with the loss of the southern army, resolved that the conduct of General Gates be submitted to the examination of a court of inquiry, and the commander-in-chief directed to appoint an officer to succeed him. In compliance with the latter part of the resolution, General Washington, without hesitation, offered the appointment to General Greene. In a letter to Congress, recommending the general to the support of that body, he made the most honourable mention of him as "an officer in whose abilities, fortitude, and integrity, from a long and intimate experience of them, he had the most entire confidence." Writing to Mr. Matthews, a member from Charleston, he says, "You have your wish, in the officer appointed to the southern command. I think I am giving you a general; but what can a general do without arms, without clothing, without stores, without provisions?"

General Greene arrived at Charlotte, the head-quarters of General Gates, December 2, 1780, and in entering on the duties of his

command, he found himself in a situation that was fearfully embarrassing. His army, consisting mostly of militia, amounted to less than two thousand men, and he found on hand but three days' provision, and a very defective supply of ammunition. In front was an enemy, proud in victory, and too strong to be encountered. With such means, and under such circumstances, to recover two states, already conquered, and protect a third, constituted a task that was almost hopeless.

It was not merely to meet an enemy in the field, to command skilfully and fight bravely, either in proffered or accepted battle. These operations depend on mere professional qualifications, that can be readily acquired by moderate capacities. But to raise and provide for an army in a dispirited and devastated country, creating resources where they do not exist; to operate with an incompetent force on an extended and broken line of frontier; to hold in check in many points, and to avoid coming into contact in any, with an enemy superior in numbers and discipline; to conduct a scheme of warfare like this—and such, precisely, was that which tested the abilities of General Greene—requires a genius of the highest order,

combined with indefatigable industry and skill.

Preparatory to the commencement of the campaign, Greene's first care was to prepare for his troops subsistence and ammunition, and in effecting this, he derived great aid from his personal experience in the business of the commissary and quartermaster's departments. This qualification for such a diversity of duties, presented him to his troops in the two-fold relation of their supporter and commander. Much of the moral strength of an army consists in a confidence in its leader, an attachment to his person, and a spirit of subordination, founded on principle. To such an extent was this true, that even the common soldiery, sensible of the superintendence of a superior intellect, predicted confidently a change of fortune. Their defeat at Camden was soon forgotten by them in their anticipations of future victory. They fancied themselves ready once more to take the field, and felt a solicitude to regain their lost reputation, and signalize their prowess in presence of their new and beloved commander.

But, notwithstanding the spirit and confidence of his troops, Greene found himself

unable to meet the enemy in the field. With Washington in his eye, and his own genius to devise his measures, he resolved on cautious movements and protracted war. Yet to sustain the spirit of the country, it was necessary that he should not altogether shun his enemy; but watching and confronting his scouts and foraging parties, fight, cripple, and beat him in detail; and in all his movements it was necessary for him to maintain a communication with Virginia, from which he was to receive supplies of provisions, munitions, and men.

General Greene's first movement from the village of Charlotte, was productive of the happiest effect. In the month of December he marched with his main army to the Cheraw Hills, about seventy miles to the right of Lord Cornwallis, despatching, at the same time, General Morgan, with four hundred continentals under Colonel Howard, Colonel Washington's corps of dragoons, and a few militia, amounting in all to six hundred, to take a position on the British left, distant from them about fifty miles.

This judicious disposition, which formed a rallying point for the friends of independence, both in the east and west, and facilitated the

procurement of provisions for the troops, excited his lordship's apprehensions for the safety of Ninety-Six and Augusta, British posts, which he considered as menaced by the movements of Morgan, and gave rise to a train of movements which terminated in the celebrated battle of the Cowpens.

Cornwallis, immediately on learning the movements of Greene, despatched Colonel Tarlton with a strong detachment, amounting, in horse and foot, to near a thousand, for the protection of Ninety-Six, with orders to bring General Morgan, if possible, to battle. Greatly superior in numbers, he advanced on Morgan with a menacing aspect, and compelled him, at first, to fall back rapidly. But this was not long continued. Glorifying in action, and relying with great confidence in the spirit and firmness of his regular troops, Morgan halted at the Cowpens, and prepared to give his adversary battle. The opportunity was eagerly seized by Tarlton. An engagement was the immediate consequence, and a complete victory was obtained by the Americans. Upwards of five hundred of the British laid down their arms and were made prisoners, and a very con-

\* Vide Biography of General Morgan.

siderable number were killed. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field-pieces, and thirty-five baggage wagons, fell to the victors, who had only twelve killed and sixty wounded.

The victory of the Cowpens, although achieved under the immediate command of Morgan, was the first stroke of General Greene's policy in the south, and augured favourably of his future career. It led to one of the most arduous, ably conducted, and memorable operations, that occurred in the course of the revolutionary war—the retreat of Greene, and the pursuit of Cornwallis, during the inclemencies of winter, a distance of two hundred and thirty miles.

Galled in his pride, and crippled in his schemes by the overthrow of Tarlton, Lord Cornwallis resolved, by a series of prompt and vigorous measures, to avenge the injury and retrieve the loss which the royal arms had sustained at the Cowpens. His meditated operations for this purpose were, to advance rapidly on Morgan, retake his prisoners, and destroy his force; to maintain an intermediate position, and prevent his union with General Greene or in case of the junction of the two

armies, to cut off their retreat towards Virginia, and force them to action.

But General Greene, no less vigilant and provident than himself, informed, by express, of the defeat of Tarlton, instantly perceived the object of his lordship, and ordering his troops to proceed under General Huger to Salisbury, where he meditated a junction with Morgan's detachment, he himself, escorted by a few dragoons, set out for the head-quarters of that officer, and joined him shortly after.

Cornwallis having committed to the flames his heavy baggage, and reduced his army to the condition of light troops, dashed towards Morgan. And here commenced the retreat of General Greene, in the course of which he displayed such resources, and gained in the end such lasting renown. Sensible of the immense prize for which he was contending, he tasked his genius to the uttermost. On the issue of the struggle was staked, not merely the lives of a few brave men, not alone the existence of the whole army, but the fate of the south and the integrity of the Union. But his genius was equal to the crisis. By the most masterly movements, Greene effected a junction of the two divisions of his little army.

To his great mortification, Lord Cornwallis now perceived that in two of his objects, the destruction of Morgan's detachment, and the prevention of its union with the main division, he was completely frustrated by the activity of Greene. But to cut off the retreat of the Americans into Virginia, after their union, and to compel them to action, was still perhaps practicable, and to the achievement of this he now directed his undivided energies.

The genius of Greene, however, did not desert him on this trying occasion. Self-collected, and adapting his conduct to the nature of the crisis, his firmness grew with the increase of danger; and the measure of his greatness was the extent of the difficulties he was called to encounter. Notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of his enemy, he brought his men in safety into Virginia; and to crown the whole, no loss was sustained by him, either in men, munitions, artillery, or any thing that enters into the equipment of an army.

Frustrated thus in all his purposes, Lord Cornwallis, although the pursuing party, must be acknowledged to have been fairly vanquished. Victory is the successful issue of a struggle for superiority. Military leaders con-



tend for different objects; to vanquish their enemies in open conflict; to attack and overthrow them by stratagem and surprise; to exhaust their resources by delay of action; or to elude them in retreat, until, strengthened by reinforcements, they may be able to turn and meet them in the field. Of this last description was the victory of Greene in this memorable retreat.

In Virginia, General Greene received some reinforcements, and had the promise of more; on which he returned again into North Carolina, where, on their arrival, he hoped to be able to act on the offensive. He encamped in the vicinity of Lord Cornwallis's army. By a variety of the best concerted manœuvres, he so judiciously supported the arrangement of his troops, by the secrecy and promptitude of his motions, that during three weeks, while the enemy remained near him, he prevented them from taking any advantage of their superiority; and even cut off all opportunity of their receiving succours from the royalists.

About the beginning of March he effected a junction with a continental regiment and two considerable bodies of Virginia and Carolina militia. He then determined on attacking the

British commander without loss of time, "being persuaded," as he declared in his subsequent despatches, "that if he was successful, it would prove ruinous to the enemy ; and, if otherwise, that it would be but a partial evil to him." On the 14th he arrived at Guilford Court-House, the British then lying at twelve miles distance.

His army consisted of about four thousand five hundred men, of whom near two-thirds were North Carolina and Virginia militia. The British were about two thousand four hundred, all regular troops, and the greater part inured to toil and service in their long expedition under Lord Cornwallis, who, on the morning of the 15th, being apprised of General Greene's intentions, marched to meet him. The latter disposed his army in three lines : the militia of North Carolina were in front ; the second line was composed of those of Virginia ; and the third, which was the flower of the army, was formed of continental troops, near fifteen hundred in number. They were flanked on both sides by cavalry and riflemen, and posted on a rising ground, a mile and a half from Guilford Court-House.

"The engagement commenced at half an hour after one o'clock, by a brisk cannonade ;

after which the British advanced in three columns, and attacked the first line, composed of North Carolina militia. Those who probably had never been in action before, were panic-struck at the approach of the enemy; and many of them ran away without firing a gun, or being fired upon, and even before the British had come nearer than one hundred and forty yards to them. Part of them, however, fired; but they then followed the example of their comrades. Their officers made every possible effort to rally them; but neither the advantages of position, nor any other consideration, could induce them to maintain their ground. This shameful conduct had a great effect upon the issue of the battle. The next line, however, behaved much better. They fought with great bravery, and were thrown into disorder; rallied, returned to the charge, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but were at length broken and driven on the third line, when the engagement became general, very severe, and very bloody. At length, superiority of discipline carried the day from superiority of numbers. The conflict endured an hour and a half, and was terminated by General Greene's ordering a retreat, when he

perceived that the enemy were on the point of encircling his troops.”

This was a hard-fought action, and the exertions of the two rival generals, both in preparing for this action, and during the course of it, were never surpassed. Forgetful of every thing but the fortune of the day, they, on several occasions, mingled in the danger like common soldiers.

The loss sustained by the Americans in this battle, amounted, in killed and wounded, to only about four hundred; while, in its effect on the enemy, it was murderous; nearly one third of them, including many officers of distinction, were killed and wounded.

The result of this conflict, although technically a defeat, was virtually a victory on the part of General Greene. In its relation to his adversary, it placed him on higher ground than he had previously occupied; enabling him, immediately afterward, instead of retreating, to become the pursuing party. This is evidenced by his conduct soon after the action.

Not doubting that Lord Cornwallis would follow him, he retreated slowly, and in good order, from the field of battle, until attaining, at the distance of a few miles, an advantageous

position, he again drew up his forces, determined to renew the contest on the arrival of his enemy. But his lordship was in no condition to pursue. Having, by past experience, not to be forgotten, learnt that his adversary was a Ulysses in wisdom, he now perceived that he was an Ajax in strength. Alike expert in every mode of warfare, and not to be vanquished either by stratagem or force, he found him too formidable to be again approached.

Influenced by these sentiments, Lord Cornwallis, instead of pursuing his foe, or even maintaining his ground, commenced his retreat, leaving behind him about seventy of his wounded, whom he recommended, in a letter written by himself, to the humanity and attention of the American chief.

Had General Greene been in a situation to pursue his lordship as soon as he commenced his retreat, the destruction of that officer and his army would have been inevitable. Some spot on the plains of Carolina would have witnessed the surrender that was reserved for Virginia; and the hero of the south would have won the laurels which shortly afterwards decorated the brow of the hero of the nation. But Greene's military stores were so far ex-

pended that he could not pursue, until he received a supply; and the delay, thus occasioned, gave time to the British commander to effect his escape.

Having received his supplies, Greene immediately pursued the enemy; but the advanced position of Lord Cornwallis, and the impracticable condition of the roads, frustrated every exertion that General Greene could make to compel the enemy to a second engagement: convinced of this, he halted to indulge his troops in that refreshment and repose which they so much needed.

Were we to indicate the period in the life of General Greene most strongly marked by the operations, and irradiated by the genius of a great commander, we would, without hesitation, select that which extends from the commencement of his retreat before Cornwallis, to the termination of his pursuit of him at this time. Perhaps a brighter era does not adorn the military career of any leader. It was in the course of it that he turned the current of adverse fortune consequent on the defeat of Gates, which he afterwards directed with such certain aim and irresistible force, as to keep the enemy from his numerous strong holds in the

southern department, and contributed so pre-eminently to the speedy and felicitous issue of the war.

Having abandoned the pursuit of the British army, the general again found himself encircled with difficulties. Of the southern department of the Union, over which Greene's command extended, the enemy was in force in three large and important sections. Georgia and South Carolina were entirely in their possession; Lord Cornwallis had taken post in the maritime district of North Carolina, and part of Virginia was occupied by a powerful detachment of British troops, under the command of General Phillips. At a loss to determine in which of these points he should act in person, he consulted his officers, and found them greatly divided in opinion. He however resolved, in accordance to the views of Colonel Lee, that leaving his lordship, whose object evidently was the invasion of Virginia, to be met by the energies of that state, with such assistance as might arrive from the north, he should penetrate South Carolina, his army divided into two columns, attack and beat the enemy at their different posts, without permitting them to concentrate their forces, and

thus recover that rich and important member of the Union.

An officer who had distinguished himself in the late action, not satisfied with the proposed plan of operations, asked General Greene, by way of remonstrance, "What will you do, sir, in case Lord Cornwallis throws himself in your rear, and cuts off your communication with Virginia?" "I will punish his temerity," replied the general with great pleasantness, "by ordering you to charge him as you did at the battle of Guilford. But never fear, sir; his lordship has too much good sense ever again to risk his safety so far from the sea-board. He has just escaped ruin, and he knows it, and I am greatly mistaken in his character as an officer, if he has not the capacity to profit by experience."

On the 7th of April, General Greene broke up his encampment, and with the main column of his army moving to the south, took position on Hobkirk's Hill, in front of Camden, the head-quarters of Lord Rawdon, now the commander-in-chief of the British forces in the south.

The strength of the British position, which was covered on the south and east side by a



river and creek, and to the westward and northward by six redoubts, rendered it impracticable to carry it by storm with the small army Greene had, consisting of about seven hundred continentals, the militia having gone home. He therefore encamped at about a mile from the town, in order to prevent supplies from being brought in, and to take advantage of such favourable circumstances as might occur.

Lord Rawdon's situation was extremely delicate. Colonel Watson, whom he had some time before detached for the protection of the eastern frontiers, and to whom he had, on the intelligence of General Greene's intentions, sent orders to return to Camden, was so effectually watched by General Marion, that it was impossible for him to obey. His lordship's supplies were, moreover, very precarious; and should General Greene's reinforcements arrive, he might be so closely invested as to be at length obliged to surrender. In this dilemma, the best expedient that suggested itself, was a bold attack; for which purpose he armed every person with him capable of carrying a musket, not excepting his musicians and drummers. He sallied out on the 25th of

April, and attacked General Greene in his camp. The defence was obstinate; and for some part of the engagement the advantage appeared to be in favour of America. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, who commanded the cavalry, had at one time not less than two hundred British prisoners. However, by the misconduct of one of the American regiments, victory was snatched from General Greene, who was compelled to retreat. He lost in the action about two hundred killed, wounded and prisoners. Rawdon lost about two hundred and fifty-eight.

There was a great similarity between the consequences of the affair at Guilford, and those of this action. In the former, Lord Cornwallis was successful; but was afterward obliged to retreat two hundred miles from the scene of action, and for a time abandoned the grand object of penetrating to the northward. In the latter, Lord Rawdon had the honour of the field, but was shortly after reduced to the necessity of abandoning his post, and leaving behind him a number of sick and wounded.

The evacuation of Camden, with the vigilance of General Greene, and the several officers he employed, gave a new complexion

to affairs in South Carolina, where the British ascendancy declined more rapidly than it had been established. The numerous forts garrisoned by the enemy, fell, one after the other, into the hands of the Americans. Orangeburg, Motte, Watson, Georgetown, Granby, and others, Fort Ninety-Six excepted, were surrendered; and a very considerable number of prisoners of war, with military stores and artillery, were found in them.

On the 22d of May, General Greene sat down before Ninety-Six with the main part of his little army. The siege was carried on, for a considerable time, with great spirit; and the place was defended with equal bravery. At length the works were so far reduced that a surrender must have been made in a few days, when a reinforcement of three regiments from Europe arrived at Charleston, which enabled Lord Rawdon to proceed to relieve this important post. The superiority of the enemy's force reduced General Greene to the alternative of abandoning the siege altogether, or, previous to their arrival, of attempting the fort by storm. The latter was more agreeable to his enterprising spirit; and an attack was made on the morning of the 19th of June. He was re-

pulsed with the loss of one hundred and fifty men. He raised the siege, and retreated over the Saluda.

Dr. Ramsay, speaking of the state of affairs about this period, says, "truly distressing was the situation of the American army; when in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to a hazardous assault, and afterward to abandon a siege. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity; and after subduing the greatest part of the force sent against them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the hope of receiving a single recruit. In this gloomy situation there were not wanting persons who advised General Greene to leave the state, and retire with his remaining forces to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, 'I will recover the country, or die in the attempt.' This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, adopted the only resource now left him, of avoiding an engagement until the British force should be divided."

Greene having, without loss, made good his passage over the rivers in front, Lord Rawdon, perceiving the futility of any further attempt to overtake him, abandoned the pursuit, and retreating to Ninety-Six, prepared for its evacuation. Thus did the policy of Greene, which is moral strength, compel the surrender of that fortress, although, from a want of physical strength, he failed to carry it by the sword.

No sooner had Lord Rawdon commenced his retrograde movement towards Ninety-Six, than General Greene changed his front and moved in the same direction. On the breaking up of the garrison of Ninety-Six, and the return of Lord Rawdon towards Charleston, which immediately ensued, the British army moved in two columns, at a considerable distance from each other. It was then that General Greene became, in reality, the pursuing party, exceedingly anxious to bring the enemy to battle. But this he was unable to accomplish until September.

September the 9th, General Greene having assembled about two thousand men, proceeded to attack the British, who, under the command of Colonel Stewart were posted at the Eutaw

Springs. The American force was drawn up in two lines; the first, composed of Carolina militia, was commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, and Colonel de Malmedy. The second, which consisted of continental troops from North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, was commanded by General Sumpter, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Colonel Williams: Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; and Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, with the state troops, covered the left. A corps de reserve was formed of the cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, and the Delaware troops under Captain Kirkwood. As the Americans came forward to the attack, they fell in with some advanced parties of the enemy, at about two or three miles ahead of the main body. These being closely pursued, were driven back, and the action soon became general. The militia were at length forced to give way, but were bravely supported by the second line. In the hottest part of the engagement, General Greene ordered the Maryland and Virginia continentals to charge with trailed arms. This decided the fate of the day. "Nothing," says Dr. Ramsay, "could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this

occasion. They rushed on in good order, through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them." The British were broken, closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred of them were taken prisoners. They, however, made a fresh stand in a favourable position, in impenetrable shrubs and a picketed garden. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, after having made every effort to dislodge them, was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six-pounders were brought forward to play upon them, but they fell into their hands; and the endeavours to drive them from their station being found impracticable, the Americans retired, leaving a very strong picket on the field of battle. Their loss was about five hundred; that of the British upwards of eleven hundred.

General Greene was honoured by Congress with a British standard and a gold medal, emblematical of the engagement, "for his wise, decisive, and magnanimous conduct in the action at Eutaw Springs, in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory."

In the evening of the succeeding day,

Colonel Stewart abandoned his post, and retreated towards Charleston, leaving behind upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stand of arms. He was pursued a considerable distance, but in vain.

In Dr. Caldwell's *Memoirs of the Life of General Greene*, we have the following interesting story as connected with the severe conflict at Eutaw Springs.

“Two young officers, bearing the same rank, met in personal combat. The American perceiving that the Briton had a decided superiority in the use of the sabre, and being himself of great activity and personal strength, almost gigantic, closed with his adversary, and made him his prisoner.

“Gentlemanly, generous, and high-minded, this event, added to a personal resemblance which they were observed to bear to each other, produced between these two youthful warriors an intimacy, which increased, in a short time, to a mutual attachment.

“Not long after the action, the American officer returning home on furlough, to settle some private business, obtained permission for his friend to accompany him.

“Travelling without attendants or guard,



they were both armed and well mounted. Part of their route lay through a settlement highly disaffected to the American cause.

“When in the midst of this, having, in consequence of a shower of rain, thrown around them their cloaks, which concealed their uniforms, they were suddenly encountered by a detachment of tories.

“The young American determined to die rather than become a prisoner, especially to men whom he held in abhorrence for disloyalty to their country, and the generous Briton resolved not to survive one by whom he had been distinguished and treated so kindly: they both together, with great spirit and self-possession, charged the royalists, having first made signals in their rear, as if directing others to follow them; and thus, without injury on either side, had the address and good fortune to put the party to flight.

“Arriving in safety at their place of destination, what was their surprise and augmented satisfaction on finding, from some questions proposed by the American officer’s father, that they were first cousins!

“With increasing delight, the young Briton passed several weeks in the family of his kins-

man, where the writer of this narrative saw him daily, and often listened, with the rapture of a child, to the checkered story of his military adventures.

“To heighten the occurrence, and render it more romantic, the American officer had a sister, beautiful and accomplished, whose heart soon felt for the gallant stranger more than the affection due to a cousin. The attachment was mutual.

“But here the adventure assumed a tragical cast. The youthful foreigner being exchanged, was summoned to return to his regiment. The message was fatal to his peace, but military honour demanded the sacrifice, and the lady, generous and high-minded as himself, would not be instrumental in dimming his laurels. The parting scene was a high-wrought picture of tenderness and sorrow. On taking leave the parties mutually bound themselves, by a solemn promise, to remain single a certain number of years, in the hope that an arrangement contemplated might again bring them together. A few weeks afterward, the lady expired under an attack of the small-pox. The fate of the officer we never learnt.”

Judge Johnson in his *Life of General Greene*,

says, "At the battle of Eutaw Springs, Greene says, 'that hundreds of my men were naked as they were born.' Posterity will scarcely believe that the bare loins of many brave men who carried death into the enemy's ranks at the Eutaw, were galled by their cartouch-boxes, while a folded rag or a tuft of moss protected their shoulders from sustaining the same injury from the musket. Men of other times will inquire, by what magic was the army kept together? By what supernatural power was it made to fight?"

General Greene, in his letters to the secretary at war, says, "We have three hundred men without arms, and more than one thousand so naked that they can be put on duty only in cases of a desperate nature." Again he says, "Our difficulties are so numerous, and our wants so pressing, that I have not a moment's relief from the most painful anxieties. I have more embarrassments than it is proper to disclose to the world. Let it suffice to say that this part of the United States has had a narrow escape. *I have been seven months in the field without taking off my clothes.*"

The battle of Eutaw Springs being terminated, General Greene ordered the light troops

under Lee and Marion to march circuitously, and gain a position in the British rear. But the British leader was so prompt in his measures, and so precipitate in his movements, that, leaving his sick and wounded behind him, he made good his retreat. The only injury he received in his flight was from Lee and Marion, who cut off part of his rear-guard, galled him in his flanks, killed several, and made a number of prisoners.

Such was the issue of the battle of Eutaw. Like that of every other fought by General Greene, it manifested in him judgment and sagacity of the highest order. Although he was repeatedly forced from the field, it may be truly said of that officer, that he never *lost* an action—the consequences, at least, being always in his favour. In no instance did he fail to reduce his enemy to a condition relatively much worse than that in which he met him, his own condition, of course, being relatively improved.

The battle of the Eutaw Springs was the last essay in arms, in which it was the fortune of General Greene to command, and was succeeded by the abandonment of the whole of South Carolina by the enemy, except Charleston.

During the relaxation that followed, a dangerous plot was formed by some mutinous persons of the army, to deliver up their brave general to the British. The plot was discovered and defeated; the ringleader apprehended, tried, and shot, and twelve of the most guilty of his associates deserted to the enemy. To the honour of the American character, no native of the country was known to be concerned in this conspiracy. Foreigners alone were its projectors and abettors.

The surrender of Lord Cornwallis, whose enterprising spirit had been, by the British ministry, expected to repair the losses, and wipe away the disgrace which had been incurred through the inactivity and indolence of other generals, having convinced them of the impracticability of subjugating America, they discontinued offensive operations in every quarter. The happy period at length arrived, when, by the virtue and bravery of her sons, aided by the bounty of heaven, America compelled her invaders to acknowledge her independence. Then her armies quitted the tented field, and retired to cultivate the arts of peace and happiness. General Greene im-

mediately withdrew from the south, and returned to the bosom of his native state.

The reception he there experienced was cordial and joyous. The authorities welcomed him home with congratulatory addresses, and the chief men of the place waited upon him at his dwelling, eager to testify their gratitude for his services, their admiration of his talents and virtues, and the pride with which they recognized him as a native of Rhode Island.

On the close of the war, the three southern states that had been the most essentially benefitted by his wisdom and valour, manifested at once their sense of justice, and their gratitude to General Greene, by liberal donations. South Carolina presented him with an estate valued at ten thousand pounds sterling; Georgia with an estate, a few miles from the city of Savannah, worth five thousand pounds; and North Carolina, with twenty-five thousand acres of land in the state of Tennessee.

Having spent about two years in his native state, in the adjustment of his private affairs, he sailed for Georgia in October, 1785, and settled with his family on his estate near Savannah. Engaging here in agricultural pursuits, he employed himself closely in arrange-

ments for planting, exhibiting the fairest promise to become as eminent in the practice of the peaceful virtues as he had already shown himself in the occupation of war.

But it was the will of heaven that in this new sphere of action his course should be limited. The short period of seven months was destined to witness its commencement and its close.

Walking over his grounds, as was his custom, without his hat, on the afternoon of the 15th of June, 1786, the day being intensely hot, he was suddenly attacked with such a vertigo and prostration of strength, as to be unable to return to his house without assistance. The affection was what was denominated a "stroke of the sun." It was succeeded by fever, accompanied with stupor, delirium, and a disordered stomach. All efforts to subdue it proving fruitless, it terminated fatally on the 19th of the month.

Intelligence of the event being conveyed to Savannah, but one feeling pervaded the place. Sorrow was universal; and the whole town instinctively assumed the aspect of mourning. All business was suspended, the dwelling houses,

stores, and shops, were closed, and the shipping in the harbour half-masted their colours.

On the following day, the body of the deceased being conveyed to the town, at the request of the inhabitants, was interred in a private cemetery with military honours; the magistrates of the place, and other public officers, the society of the Cincinnati, and the citizens generally, joined in the procession.\*

In estimating the military character of General Greene, facts authorized the inference that he possessed a genius adapted by nature to military command. After resorting to arms, his attainment to rank was much more rapid than that of any other officer our country has produced; perhaps the most rapid that history records. These offices, so high in responsibility and honour, were conferred on him, not as matters of personal favour or family influence, nor yet through the instrumentality of political intrigue. They were rewards of pre-eminent merit, and tokens of recognised fitness for the highest functions of military service.

It is said, that on his very first appearance in the camp at Cambridge, from the ardour of

\* General Greene left behind him a wife and five children.



his zeal, unremitted activity, and strict attention to every duty, he was pronounced by soldiers of distinction,\* a man of real military genius.

“His knowledge,” said General Knox to a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, “is intuitive. He came to us the rawest and most untutored being I ever met with; but in less than twelve months he was equal in military knowledge to any general officer in the army, and very superior to most of them.” Even the enemy he conquered did homage to his pre-eminent talents for war. Tarlton, who had strong ground to know him, is reported to have pronounced him, on a public occasion, the most able and accomplished commander that America had produced.

When acting under the order of others, he never failed to discharge, to their satisfaction, the duties intrusted to him, however arduous. But it is the southern department of the Union that constitutes the theatre of his achievements and fame. It was there, where his views were unshackled and his genius free, that, by performing the part of a great captain, he erected for himself a monument of reputation, durable

\* Colonel Pickering and others.

as history, lofty as victory and conquest could render it, and brightened by all that glory could bestow.

In compliment to his brilliant successes, the chivalric De la Luzerne, the minister of France, who, as a knight of Malta, must be considered as a competent judge of military merit, thus speaks of him: "Other generals subdue their enemies by the means with which their country or their sovereign furnished them, but Greene appears to subdue his enemy by his own means. He commenced his campaign without either an army, provisions, or military stores. He has asked for nothing since, and yet scarcely a post arrives from the south that does not bring intelligence of some new advantage gained over his foe. He conquers by magic. History furnishes no parallel to this."

On the 12th of August, of the year in which the general died, the Congress of the United States unanimously resolved, "That a monument be erected to the memory of the Honourable Nathaniel Greene, at the seat of the federal government, with the following inscription:

SACRED  
to the Memory of the  
HON. NATHANIEL GREENE,  
who departed this Life  
the 19th of June, MDCCLXXXVI,  
late Major-General in the  
Service of the U. S. and  
Commander of the Army in the  
Southern Department.  
The United States, in Congress  
assembled, in honour of  
HIS PATRIOTISM, VALOUR, AND ABILITY,  
have erected this  
MONUMENT.

To the disgrace of the nation, no monument has been erected; nor, for the want of a headstone, can any one at present designate the spot where the relics of the *Hero of the South* lie interred.

## DANIEL MORGAN,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

GENERAL MORGAN was the creator of his own fortune. Born of poor, though honest parents, he enjoyed none of the advantages which result from wealth and early education. But his was a spirit that would not tamely yield to difficulties.

“He was born in New Jersey, where, from his poverty and low condition, he had been a day-labourer. To early education and breeding, therefore, he owed nothing. But for this deficiency his native sagacity and sound judgment, and his intercourse with the best society, made much amends in after life.

“Enterprising in his disposition, even now he removed to Virginia, in 1755, with a hope and expectation of improving his fortune. Here he continued, at first, his original business of day-labour; but exchanged it afterward for the employment of a wagoner.

“His military novitiate he served in the campaign under the unfortunate Braddock. The rank he bore is not precisely known. It

must, however, have been humble; for, in consequence of imputed contumely towards a British officer, he was brought to the halbert, and received the inhuman punishment of five hundred lashes; or, according to his own statement, of four hundred and ninety-nine; for he always asserted that the drummer charged with the execution of the sentence, miscounted and jocularly added, 'That George the Third was still indebted to him one lash.' To the honour of Morgan he never practically remembered this savage treatment during the revolutionary war. Towards the British officers whom the fortune of battle placed within his power, his conduct was humane, mild, and gentlemanly.

"After his return from this campaign, so inordinately was he addicted to quarrels and boxing matches, that the village of Berrystown, in the county of Frederick, which constituted the chief theatre of his pugilistic exploits, received, from this circumstance, the name of Battletown.

"In these combats, although frequently over-matched in personal strength, he manifested the same unyielding spirit which characterized him afterward in his military career. When worsted by his antagonist, he would pause for

a time, to recruit his strength, and then return to the contest, again and again, until he rarely failed to prove victorious.

“Equally marked was his invincibility of spirit in maturer age, when raised, by fortune and his own merit, to a higher and more honourable field of action. Defeat in battle he rarely experienced; but when he did, his retreat was sullen, stern, and dangerous.

“The commencement of the American revolution found Mr. Morgan married and cultivating a farm, which, by industry and economy, he had been enabled to purchase, in the county of Frederick.

“Placed at the head of a rifle company, raised in his neighbourhood in 1775, he marched immediately to the American head-quarters in Cambridge, near Boston.

“By order of the commander-in-chief, he soon afterward joined in the expedition against Quebec, and was made prisoner in the attempt on that fortress, where Arnold was wounded, and Montgomery fell.

“During the assault, his daring valour and persevering gallantry attracted the notice and admiration of the enemy.

“The assailing column to which he belonged

was led by Major Arnold. When that officer was wounded, and carried from the ground, Morgan threw himself into the lead, and, rushing forward, passed the first and second barriers. For a moment, victory appeared certain. But the fall of Montgomery closing the prospect, the assailants were repulsed, and the enterprise abandoned. During his captivity, Captain Morgan was treated with great kindness, and not a little distinction. He was repeatedly visited in confinement by a British officer of rank, who at length made an attempt on his patriotism and virtue, by offering him the commission and emoluments of colonel in the British army, on condition that he would desert the American and join the royal standard.

“Morgan rejected the proposal with scorn, and requested the courtly and corrupt negotiator ‘never again to insult him in his misfortunes by an offer which plainly implied that he thought him a villian.’ The officer withdrew, and did not again recur to the subject.

“On being exchanged, Morgan immediately rejoined the American army, and received, by the recommendation of General Washington, the command of a regiment.

“In the year 1777, he was placed at the

head of a select rifle corps, with which, in various instances, he acted on the enemy with terrible effect. His troops were considered the most dangerous in the American service. To confront them in the field was almost certain death to the British officers.

“On the occasion of the capture of Burgoyne, the exertions and services of Colonel Morgan and his riflemen were beyond all praise. Much of the glory of the achievement belonged to them. Yet so gross was the injustice of General Gates, that he did not even mention them in his official despatches. His reason for this was secret and dishonourable. Shortly after the surrender of Burgoyne, General Gates took occasion to hold with Morgan a private conversation. In the course of this he told him confidentially, that the main army was exceedingly dissatisfied with the conduct of General Washington; that the reputation of the commander-in-chief was rapidly declining; and that several officers of great worth threatened to resign, unless a change were produced in that department.

“Colonel Morgan fathoming in an instant the views of his commanding officer, sternly, and with honest indignation, replied, ‘Sir, I



have one favour to ask. Never again mention to me this hateful subject; under no other man but General Washington, as commander-in-chief, will I ever serve.'

"From that moment ceased the intimacy that had previously subsisted between him and General Gates.

"A few days afterward the general gave a dinner to the principal officers of the British, and some of those of the American army. Morgan was not invited. In the course of the evening, that officer found it necessary to call on General Gates, on official business. Being introduced into the dining-room, he spoke to the general, received his orders, and immediately withdrew, his name unannounced. Perceiving, from his dress, that he was of high rank, the British officers inquired his name. Being told that it was Colonel Morgan, commanding the rifle corps, they rose from the table, followed him into the yard, and introduced themselves to him, with many complimentary and flattering expressions, declaring that, on the day of action, they had very severely felt him in the field.

"In 1780, having obtained leave of absence from the army on account of the shattered

condition of his health, he retired to his estate in the county of Frederick, and remained there until the appointment of General Gates to the command of the southern army.

“Being waited on by the latter, and requested to accompany him, he reminded him, in expressions marked by resentment, of the unworthy treatment he had formerly experienced from him, in return for the important services which, he did not hesitate to assert, he had rendered him in his operations against the army of General Burgoyne.

“Having received no acknowledgement, nor even civility, for aiding to decorate him with laurels in the north, he frankly declared that there were no considerations, except of a public nature, that could induce him to co-operate in his campaigns to the south. ‘Motives of public good might influence him; because his country had a claim on him, in any quarter where he could promote her interest; but personal attachment must not be expected to exist where he had experienced nothing but neglect and injustice.’

“The two officers parted, mutually dissatisfied; the one, on account of past treatment; the other, of the recent interview.

“In the course of a few weeks afterward, Congress having promoted Colonel Morgan to the rank of brigadier-general by brevet, with a view to avail themselves of his services in the south, he proceeded without delay to join the army of General Gates. But he was prevented from serving any length of time under that officer, by his defeat near Camden, before his arrival, and his being soon afterward superseded in command by General Greene.

“Soon after taking command of the southern army, General Greene despatched General Morgan with four hundred continentals under Colonel Howard, Colonel Washington’s corps of dragoons, and a few militia, amounting in all to about six hundred, to take position on the left of the British army, then lying at Winnsborough, under Lord Cornwallis, while he took post about seventy miles to his right. This judicious disposition excited his lordship’s apprehensions for the safety of Ninety-Six and Augusta, British posts, which he considered as menaced by the movements of Morgan.

“Colonel Tarleton, with a strong detachment, amounting, in horse and foot, to near a thousand men, was immediately despatched by Cornwallis to the protection of Ninety-Six, with

orders to bring General Morgan, if possible, to battle. To the ardent temper and chivalrous disposition of the British colonel this direction was perfectly congenial. Greatly superior in numbers, he advanced on Morgan with a menacing aspect, and compelled him, at first, to fall back rapidly. But the retreat of the American commander was not long continued. Irritated by pursuit, reinforced by a body of militia, and reposing great confidence in the spirit and firmness of his regular troops, he halted at the Cowpens, and determined to gratify his adversary in his eagerness for combat. This was on the night of the 16th of January, 1781. Early in the morning of the succeeding day, Tarleton, being apprised of the situation of Morgan, pressed towards him with a redoubled rapidity, lest, by renewing his retreat, he should again elude him.

“But Morgan now had other thoughts than those of flight. Already had he, for several days, been at war with himself in relation to his conduct. Glorifying in action, his spirit recoiled from the humiliation of retreat, and his resentment was roused by the insolence of pursuit. This mental conflict becoming more intolerable to him than disaster or death, his

courage triumphed, perhaps, over his prudence, and he resolved on putting every thing to the hazard of the sword.

“By military men who have studied the subject, his disposition for battle is said to have been masterly. Two light parties of militia were advanced in front, with order to feel the enemy as they approached; and preserving a desultory, well aimed fire, as they fell back to the front line, to range with it, and renew the conflict. The main body of the militia composed this line, with General Pickens at its head. At a suitable distance in the rear of the first line, a second was stationed, composed of the continental infantry and two companies of Virginia militia, commanded by Colonel Howard. Washington’s cavalry, reinforced with a company of mounted militia, armed with sabres, was held in reserve.

“Posting himself then in the line of the regulars, he waited in silence the advance of the enemy.

“Tarleton coming in sight, hastily formed his disposition for battle, and commenced the assault. Of this conflict, the following picture is from the pen of General Lee :

‘ The American light parties quickly yielded,

fell back, and arrayed with Pickens. The enemy shouting, rushed forward upon the front line, which retained its station, and poured in a close fire ; but continuing to advance with the bayonet on our militia, they retired, and gained with haste the second line. Here, with part of the corps, Pickens took post on Howard's right, and the rest fled to their horses, probably with orders to remove them to a further distance. Tarleton pushed forward, and was received by his adversary with unshaken firmness. The contest became obstinate ; and each party, animated by the example of its leader, nobly contended for victory. Our line maintained itself so firmly as to oblige the enemy to order up his reserve. The advance of M<sup>r</sup> Arthur reanimated the British line, which again moved forward, and outstretching our front, endangered Colonel Howard's right. This officer instantly took measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front ; but, mistaking this order, the company fell back ; upon which the line began to retire, and General Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This manœuvre being performed with precision, our flank became relieved, and the new position was

assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrograde movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder; but as it drew near, Howard faced about, and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. This decisive step gave us the day. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives. A part of the enemy's cavalry having gained our rear, fell on that portion of the militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus, by a simultaneous effort, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general.'

"In this decisive battle we lost about seventy men, of whom twelve only were killed. The British infantry, with the exception of the baggage guard, were nearly all killed or taken. One hundred, including ten officers, were killed; twenty-three officers and five hundred privates

were taken. The artillery, eight hundred muskets, two standards, thirty-five baggage wagons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into our possession."

In this battle, so glorious to the American arms, Tarleton had every advantage in point of ground, cavalry, and numbers, aided by two pieces of artillery.

Soon after this brilliant exploit, frequent attacks of the rheumatism compelled General Morgan to retire from the army, and he returned to his seat in Frederick, Virginia, where he continued in retirement until the insurrection in the western part of Pennsylvania, in 1794, when he was detached by the executive of Virginia, at the head of the militia quota of that state, to suppress it. This done, he returned into the bosom of his family, where he remained until death closed his earthly career, in 1799.

"There existed in the character of General Morgan a singular contradiction, which is worthy of notice.

"Although in battle no man was ever more prodigal of the exposure of his person to danger, or manifested a more deliberate disregard of death; yet, so strong was his love of



life at other times, that he has been frequently heard to declare, 'he would agree to pass half his time as a galley-slave, rather than quit this world for another.'

"The following outline of his person and character is from the pen of a military friend, who knew him intimately :

'Brigadier-General Morgan was stout and active, six feet in height, strong, not too much encumbered with flesh, and was exactly fitted for the toils and pomp of war. His mind was discriminating and solid, but not comprehensive and combining. His manners plain and decorous, neither insinuating nor repulsive. His conversation grave, sententious, and considerate, unadorned, and uncaptivating. He reflected deeply, spoke little, and executed, with keen perseverance, whatever he undertook.

"A considerable time before his death, when the pressure of infirmity began to be heavy, he became seriously concerned about his future welfare. From that period, his chief solace lay in the study of the Scriptures, and in devotional exercises. He died in the belief of the truths of Christianity, and in full communion with the Presbyterian Church."

## JOHN STARK,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

GENERAL STARK was a native of New-Hampshire, and was born in Londonderry, August 17th, 1728. From his early youth he had been accustomed to the alarm of war, having lived in that part of the country which was continually subject to the incursions of the savages. While a child, he was captured by them, and adopted as one of their own ; but after a few years was restored.

Arrived at manhood, his manners were plain, honest, and severe ; excellently calculated for the benefit of society in the private walks of life ; and as a courageous and heroic soldier, he is entitled to a high rank among those who have been crowned with unfading laurels, and to whom a large share of glory is justly due. He was captain of a company of rangers in the provincial service during the French war, in 1755.

From the commencement of the difficulties with the mother country, until the closing scene of the revolution, our country found in

General Stark one of its most resolute, independent, and persevering defenders. The first call of his country found him ready. When the report of Lexington battle reached him, he was engaged at work in his saw-mill: fired with indignation and a martial spirit, he immediately seized his musket, and with a band of heroes proceeded to Cambridge. The morning after his arrival, he received a colonel's commission, and availing himself of his own popularity, and the enthusiasm of the day, in two hours he enlisted eight hundred men. On the memorable 17th of June, at Breed's Hill, Colonel Stark, at the head of his backwoodsmen of New-Hampshire, poured on the enemy that deadly fire, from a sure aim, which effected such remarkable destruction in their ranks, and compelled them twice to retreat. During the whole of this dreadful conflict, Colonel Stark evinced that consummate bravery and intrepid zeal, which entitle his name to perpetual remembrance.

His spirit pervaded his native state, and excited them to the most patriotic efforts. The British General Burgoyne, in one of his letters, observes, "That the Hampshire Grants, almost unknown in the last war, now abound in the

most active and most rebellious race on the continent, and hang like a gathering storm upon my left."

Distinct from his efforts in rallying the energies of his native state, he obtained great credit in the active operations of the field. At that gloomy period of the revolution, the retreat of Washington through New Jersey, in 1776, when the saviour of our country, apparently deserted of heaven and by his country, with the few gallant spirits who gathered the closer around him in that dark hour, precipitately fled before an imperious and victorious enemy—it was on this occasion that the persevering valour of Stark enrolled him among the firm and resolute defenders of their country; and, with them, entitles him to her unceasing gratitude.

But as he fearlessly shared with Washington the dark and gloomy night of defeat, so also he participated with him in the joy of a bright morning of victory and hope. In the successful enterprise against Trenton, Stark, then a colonel, acted a conspicuous part, and covered himself with glory. General Wilkinson, in his memoirs, says, "I must not withhold due praise from the dauntless Stark, who dealt death

wherever he found resistance, and broke down all opposition before him."

Soon after this affair, Colonel Stark, from some supposed injustice toward him on the part of Congress, quitted the continental service, and returned to New Hampshire.

"When he was urged by the government of New Hampshire to take the command of their militia, he refused, unless he should be at liberty to serve or not, under a continental officer, as he should judge proper. It was not a time for debate, and it was known that the militia would follow wherever Stark would lead. The assembly therefore invested him with a separate command, and gave him orders to 'repair to Charlestown, on Connecticut River; there to consult with a committee of the New Hampshire Grants respecting his future operations, and the supply of his men with provisions; to take the command of the militia, and march into the Grants; to act in conjunction with the troops of that new state, or any other of the states, or of the United States, or separately, as it should appear expedient to him, for the protection of the people and the annoyance of the enemy.'"

Agreeably to his orders, Stark proceeded, in

a few days, to Charlestown; his men very readily followed, and, as fast as they arrived, he sent them forward to join the troops of Vermont under Colonel Warner, who had taken his situation at Manchester. At that place he joined Warner with about eight hundred men from New Hampshire, and found another body of men from Vermont, who put themselves under his command; and he was at the head of fourteen hundred men. Most of them had been in the two former campaigns, and well officered; and were, in every respect, a body of very good troops. Schuyler repeatedly urged Stark to join the troops under his command, but he declined complying. He was led to this conduct not only by the reasons which have been mentioned, but by a difference of opinion as to the best method of opposing Burgoyne. Schuyler wished to collect all the American troops in the front, to prevent Burgoyne from marching on to Albany. Stark was of opinion that the surest way to check Burgoyne was to have a body of men on his rear, ready to fall upon him in that quarter, whenever a favourable opportunity should present. The New England militia had not formed a high opinion of Schuyler as a

general; and Stark meant to keep himself in a situation in which he might embrace any favourable opportunity for action, either in conjunction with him, or otherwise; and with that view intended to hang on the rear of the British troops, and embrace the first opportunity which should present, to make an attack upon that quarter. But Stark assured Schuyler that he would join in any measure necessary to promote the public good, but wished to avoid any thing that was not consistent with his own honour; and if it was thought necessary, he would march to his camp. He wrote particularly, that he would lay aside all private resentment, when it appeared in opposition to the public good. But in the midst of these protestations he was watching for an opportunity to discover his courage and patriotism, by falling upon some part of Burgoyne's army.

While the American army was thus assuming a more respectable appearance, General Burgoyne was making very slow advances towards Albany. From the 28th of July to the 15th of August, the British army was continually employed in bringing forward batteaux, provisions, and ammuniton, from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's River;

a distance of not more than eighteen miles. The labour was excessive ; the Europeans were but little acquainted with the methods of performing it to advantage, and the effect was in no degree equivalent to the expense of labour and time. With all the efforts that Burgoyne could make, encumbered with his artillery and baggage, his labours were inadequate to the purpose of supplying the army with provisions for its daily consumption, and the establishment of the necessary magazines. And after his utmost exertions for fifteen days, there were not above four day's provisions in the store, nor above ten batteaux in Hudson's River.

In such circumstances, the British general found that it would be impossible to procure sufficient supplies of provisions by the way of Fort George, and determined to replenish his own magazines at the expense of those of the Americans. Having received information that a large quantity of stores were laid up at Bennington, and guarded only by the militia, he formed the design of surprising that place ; and was made to believe that as soon as a detachment of the royal army should appear in that quarter, it would receive effectual assistance from a large body of loyalists, who only waited



for the appearance of a support, and would in that event come forward and aid the royal cause. Full of these expectations, he detached Colonel Baum, a German officer, with a select body of troops, to surprise the place. His force consisted of about five hundred regular troops, some Canadians, and more than one hundred Indians, with two light pieces of artillery. To facilitate their operations, and to be ready to take advantage of the success of the detachment, the royal army moved along the east bank of Hudson's River, and encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga; having, at the same time, thrown a bridge of rafts over the river, by which the army passed to that place. With a view to support Baum, if it should be found necessary, Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, were posted at Battenkill.

General Stark having received information that a party of Indians were at Cambridge, sent Lieutenant-Colonel Greg, on August the 13th, with a party of two hundred men, to stop their progress. Toward night he was informed by express that a large body of regulars was in the rear of the Indians, and advancing toward

Bennington. On this intelligence, Stark drew together his brigade, and the militia that were at hand, and sent on to Manchester, to Colonel Warner, to bring on his regiment; he sent expresses at the same time to the neighbouring militia, to join him with the utmost speed. On the morning of the 14th, he marched with his troops, and at the distance of seven miles he met Greg on the retreat, and the enemy within a mile of him. Stark drew up his troops in order of battle; but the enemy, coming in sight, halted upon a very advantageous piece of ground. Baum perceived the Americans were too strong to be attacked with his present force, and sent an express to Burgoyne with an account of his situation, and to have Breyman march immediately to support him. In the meantime small parties of the Americans kept up a skirmish with the enemy, killed and wounded thirty of them, with two of their Indian chiefs, without any loss to themselves. The ground the Americans had taken was unfavourable for a general action, and Stark retreated about a mile, and encamped. A council of war was held, and it was agreed to send two detachments upon the enemy's rear, while the rest of the troops should make

an attack upon their front. The next day the weather was rainy, and though it prevented a general action, there were frequent skirmishes in small parties, which proved favourable and encouraging to the Americans.

On August the 16th, in the morning, Stark was joined by Colonel Symonds and a body of militia from Berkshire, and proceeded to attack the enemy, agreeably to the plan which had been concerted. Colonel Baum in the meantime had entrenched on an advantageous piece of ground near St. Koick's mills, on a branch of Hoosic River; and rendered his post as strong as his circumstances and situation would admit. Colonel Nichols was detached with two hundred men to the rear of his left, Colonel Herrick with three hundred men to the rear of his right; both were to join, and then make the attack. Colonels Hubbard and Stickney, with two hundred men, were ordered on the right, and one hundred were advanced towards the front, to draw the attention of the enemy that way. About three o'clock in the afternoon the troops had taken their station, and were ready to commence the action. While Nichols and Herrick were bringing their troops together, the Indians were alarmed at the prospect, and

pushed off between the two corps; but received a fire as they were passing, by which three of them were killed and two wounded. Nichols then began the attack, and was followed by all the other divisions; those in the front immediately advanced, and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted about two hours, and was like one continued peal of thunder. Baum made a brave defence; and the German dragoons, after they had expended their ammunition, led by their colonel, charged with their swords, but they were soon overpowered. Their works were carried on all sides, their two pieces of cannon were taken, Colonel Baum himself was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and all his men, except a few who had escaped into the woods, were either killed or taken prisoners. Having completed the business by taking the whole party, the militia began to disperse and look out for plunder. But in a few minutes Stark received information that a large reinforcement was on their march, and within two miles of him. Fortunately at that moment Colonel Warner came up with his regiment from Manchester. This brave and experienced officer commanded a regiment of continental troops, which had

been raised in Vermont. Mortified that he had not been in the former engagement, he instantly led on his men against Breyman, and began the second engagement. Stark collected the militia as soon as possible, and pushed on to his assistance. The action became general, and the battle continued obstinate on both sides till sunset, when the Germans were forced to give way, and were pursued till dark. They left their two field-pieces behind, and a considerable number were made prisoners. They retreated in the best manner they could, improving the advantages of the evening and night, to which alone their escape was ascribed.

In these actions the Americans took four brass field-pieces, twelve brass drums, two hundred and fifty dragoon swords, four ammunition wagons, and about seven hundred prisoners, with their arms and accoutrements. Two hundred and seven men were found dead upon the spot, the numbers of wounded were unknown. The loss of the Americans was but small; thirty were slain, and about forty were wounded. Stark was not a little pleased at having so fair an opportunity to vindicate his own conduct. He had now shown that no neglect from Congress had made him disaffected

to the American cause, and that he had rendered a much more important service than he could have done by joining Schuyler, and remaining inactive in his camp. Congress embraced the opportunity to assign to him his rank; and though he had not given to them any account of his victory, or wrote to them at all upon the subject, on October the fourth they resolved, "That the thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark, of the New-Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over the enemy, in their lines at Bennington: and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a brigadier-general in the army of the United States." And never were thanks more deserved, or more wisely given to a military officer.

"In his official account of the affair, General Stark thus writes: 'It lasted two hours, *the hottest I ever saw in my life*; it represented one continued clap of thunder: however, the enemy were obliged to give way, and leave their field-pieces and all their baggage behind them: they were all environed within two breast-works with artillery; but our martial courage proved too strong for them. I then gave orders to rally

again, in order to secure the victory; but in a few minutes was informed that there was a large reinforcement on their march, within two miles. Colonel Warner's regiment luckily coming up at the moment, renewed the attack with fresh vigour. I pushed forward as many of the men as I could to their assistance; the battle continued obstinate on both sides until sunset; the enemy was obliged to retreat; we pursued them till dark, and had day lasted an hour longer, should have taken the whole body of them.'

"On what small events does the popular humour and military success depend! The capture of one thousand Germans by General Washington, at Trenton, had served to wake up, and save the whole continent. The exploit of Stark at Bennington, operated with the same kind of influence, and produced a similar effect.

This victory was the first event that had proved encouraging to the Americans in the northern department, since the death of General Montgomery. Misfortune had succeeded misfortune, and defeat had followed defeat from that period till now. The present instance was the first in which victory had quitted the royal standard, or seemed even to be wavering. She

was now found with the American arms, and the effect seemed, in fact, to be greater than the cause. It raised the spirit of the country to an uncommon degree of animation; and by showing the militia what they could perform, rendered them willing and desirous to turn out and try what fortunes would await their exertions. It had a still greater effect on the royal army. The British generals were surprised to hear that an enemy whom they had contemplated with no other feelings than those of contempt, should all at once wake up, and discover much of the spirit of heroism. To advance upon the mouth of cannon, to attack fortified lines, to carry strong entrenchments, were exploits which they supposed belonged exclusively to the armies of kings. To see a body of American militia, ill dressed, but little disciplined, without cannon, armed only with farmers' guns, without bayonets, and who had been accustomed to fly at their approach; that such men should force the entrenchments, capture the cannon, kill and make prisoners of a large body of the royal army, was a matter of indignation, astonishment and surprise."

"General Stark volunteered his services under General Gates at Saratoga, and assisted in



the council which stipulated the surrender of General Burgoyne; nor did he relinquish his valuable services till he could greet his native country as an independent empire. General Stark was of the middle stature, not formed by nature to exhibit an erect soldierly mien. His manners were frank and unassuming, but he manifested a peculiar sort of eccentricity and negligence, which precluded all display of personal dignity, and seemed to place him among those of ordinary rank in life. His character, as a private citizen, was unblemished, and he was ever held in respect. For the last few years of his life, he enjoyed a pecuniary bounty from the government. He lived to the advanced age of ninety-three years, eight months, and twenty-four days, and died May 8th, 1822."

## HUGH MERCER,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

To fight

In a just cause, and for our country's glory,  
Is the best office of the best of men;  
And to decline when these motives urge,  
Is infamy beneath a coward's baseness.

*Havard's Regulus.*

IN the revolution which released our country from the domination of Great Britain, foreigners as well as native Americans, espoused the cause of the colonies. No examples are necessary to prove this:—we at once think of Steuben,—of Lafayette,—of Kosciusko—of the many who left their native land to strike a blow for freedom in the Western World. Numerous were the Britons, also, who joined the standard of patriotism, even though it was raised in opposition to the lion of their own banner. Instances of two of the most celebrated of these, both for their noble qualities and early deaths,—for they occurred during an early period of the contest,—we see in James Montgomery, and Hugh Mercer. The former

we need not further mention in this place,—but of the latter we will give a brief sketch.

Hugh Mercer was born near Aberdeen in the north of Scotland, about the year 1723. He studied medicine, and as an assistant surgeon he was with the army of the Pretender, Charles Edward, at the field of Culloden. That battle was fought on the 16th April, 1746, and early in the year 1747, Mercer, fleeing from Scotland in consequence of his participation in the rebellion, landed at Philadelphia. Thirty years afterwards his corpse was interred in that place—and finally, on the 26th November 1840, his remains, with all the ‘pride, pomp, and circumstance, of glorious war,’ were removed from their first resting place, and buried in the beautiful cemetery of Laurel Hill, near the same city.

From Philadelphia Mercer proceeded to the frontier of Pennsylvania, and settled near the present village of Mercersburg, Franklin County. Here he remained engaged, it is believed, in farming occupations, until the commencement of the French and Indian war of 1755. After Braddock’s defeat, the whole frontier of this province lay exposed to the attacks of the savages. The colonists were

continually harassed by their incursions, and at last the Legislature raised a force of three hundred men, and gave the command to Colonel John Armstrong, under whom Mercer was appointed captain. The troops marched, in 1756, from Fort Shirley through a hostile country to the Alleghany river, and, unknown to the enemy, arrived at an Indian town called Kittanning, within twenty-five miles of Fort Du Quesne. At day-break the Americans attacked the place, and after a short action carried the town, and completely destroyed it. In this conflict Mercer was severely wounded in the right wrist and during the confusion which succeeded the taking of the Fort, he became separated from the rest of his company, and was obliged to set off alone, for the settlements. Becoming faint from loss of blood, and hearing the war-whoop of a body of Indians who approached, he secreted himself in the hollow trunk of a large tree. The savages came up, and stayed about the place some time, for the purpose of resting themselves, but soon continued their way. Mercer then pushed on, and, having reached the waters that emptied into the Potomac, he finally, after wandering

in the woods for some weeks, arrived at Fort Cumberland.

In 1758, the provincial forces were reorganized, and placed in a more effective condition. Mercer was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and accompanied General Forbes in his expedition to Fort Du Quesne. He was left with two hundred men in charge of the fort, and maintained it until he was relieved, notwithstanding the difficulties which attended it. Washington—with whom Mercer first became acquainted in this expedition—wrote to Governor Fauquier that the men left in the fort were “in such a miserable condition, having hardly rags to cover their nakedness, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather in this inclement season, that sickness, death and desertion, if they are not speedily supplied, must destroy them.” As soon as he was relieved, Mercer left the army, and repaired to Fredericksburg, in Virginia, where he continued to practise his profession.

“The repose which the colonies enjoyed between the peace of 1763 and the beginning of the revolution, was short and restless. The young Nation lay, not in the slumber of exhaustion, but in the fitful sleep which the

consciousness of a great futurity allows. It slept too with arms by its side, and there needed but the trumpet's feeblest note to arouse it to action. The involuntary concord of the Colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution is one of its most singular characteristics. It was a concord that transcended all mere political relations—it was beyond, and above all political union. It was the instinctive appreciation of common right, the quick sense of common injury. There seemed to be but one frame, and when the hand of tyranny was rudely laid on a single member, the whole system quivered beneath the contact, and braced itself to resistance.”\*

None of the colonies was more distinguished in the contest, for firm resistance to the arbitrary measures of the mother country, than were Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Hancock and Adams, Morris and Hopkinson, Henry and Jefferson,—all were untiring in their efforts to arouse their countrymen. Nor were these alone: other men, less celebrated in the annals of our country, perhaps, but yet equally patriotic, aided them. Of these Mercer was one. On the 25th of April 1775, he

\* Reed's eulogy on General Mercer.

wrote to Washington informing him of an attack upon Williamsburg by some seamen from a British vessel, and of their removal of the powder from the magazine, by order of the Governor. He also said that the volunteer company of Fredericksburg intended to march in a few days to Williamsburg to secure the military stores yet remaining there. In June of the same year Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief, and on June 5th 1776, at the instance of Washington himself, Mercer was created Brigadier-General of the American troops.

The army was at New York when Mercer joined, and he remained with it constantly. The projected attack on Staten Island was confided to him—he was with the forces at White Plains—during the retreat through New Jersey,—and in short he continued in active service until his death.

The Americans had at last retired across the Delaware, but the gloomy appearance of their prospects increased. In Philadelphia “all able bodied men who were not conscientiously scrupulous about bearing arms,” were ordered by General Putnam to “appear in the State House yard with their arms and accoutrements,”

that they might be sent to reinforce General Washington. With the assistance of these militia, it was resolved by the Commander-in-chief,—and the design was warmly seconded by Greene, Reed, and Mercer,—to attack the Hessian troops at Trenton. The result of this plan need not be here given; it is too well known to every reader of American history. General Washington immediately after the action recrossed the Delaware with his prisoners, and remained in his former position until the 29th of December, when he again entered New Jersey, and on the 2d of January met the main body of the British troops. The approach of darkness deferred the action, and during the night a council of the American officers was held to consider the means of rescuing themselves from the difficulties which surrounded them. In this state of affairs Mercer proposed the brilliant plan of ordering up the Philadelphia militia, and making a night march upon Princeton and Brunswick. It was agreed to without dissent and the troops were set in motion. General Mercer commanded the advanced party, and as day broke he observed a large body of British troops marching towards Trenton. He immediately proposed to the



Commander-in-chief to throw himself between this corps, and their reserve at Princeton, and thus bring on a general action,—and upon the consent of Washington he executed the movement. The Americans were however thrown into confusion at the death of Colonel Hazlet, and fell back. Mercer's horse was killed, but notwithstanding that he was alone, he refused to surrender and fought single handed with a British detachment which advanced towards him. The combat was too unequal, however, and he was beaten down by the butts of muskets and mortally wounded by bayonets. After the American troops had gained the day he was removed to a neighbouring house, and there expired, January 12th, 1777.

“On the 14th of January the remains of Mercer were brought to Philadelphia, and on the next day but one were interred in the grave from which they were removed to Laurel Hill November 26th 1840.

“There are aged men yet amongst us—so aged that before the brief remnant of this year expires the generation may cease to live—who remember the solemnity of that funeral. It was the Nation mourning for her first child. It was a people in sad amazement that a

gallant citizen had indeed died for them. And when the ancient inhabitants of this city thus gathered in throngs to bear the soldier's mangled corpse to its place of rest, it was committed to the ground with the sacred service which bade them look to the promised day when "the earth and the sea shall give up their dead." The grave thus solemnly closed has been unsealed—affectionately, reverently, piously.—But yet upon the solemnities of this day, the reproach of a vain and profane pageant may fasten, if the mouldering remains of the dead can be placed in the midst of the living without stirring every heart to its very centre."\*

\* Reed's eulogy. Delivered at Philadelphia November 26th, 1840, when the remains of Mercer were disinterred and again buried at Laurel Hill.

## ETHAN ALLEN,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

GENERAL ALLEN was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, from whence, while he was yet young, his parents emigrated to Vermont. By this circumstance he was deprived of the advantages of an early education. But, although he never felt its genial influence, nature had endowed him with strong powers of mind; and when called to take the field, he showed himself an able leader, and an intrepid soldier.

At the commencement of the disturbances in Vermont, about the year 1770, he took a most active part in favour of the Green Mountain Boys, as the first settlers were then called, in opposition to the government of New York. Bold, enterprising, and ambitious, he undertook to direct the proceedings of the inhabitants, and wrote several pamphlets to display the supposed injustice and oppressive designs of the New York proceedings. The uncultivated roughness of his own temper and manners seems to have assisted him in giving a just description of the views and proceedings of speculating land-

jobbers. His writings produced effects so hostile to the views of the state of New York, that an act of outlawry was passed against him, and five hundred guineas were offered for his apprehension. But his party was too numerous and faithful to permit him to be disturbed by any apprehensions for his safety. In all the struggles of the day he was successful, and proved a valuable friend to those whose cause he had espoused.

The news of the battle of Lexington determined Allen to engage on the side of his country, and inspired him with the desire of demonstrating his attachment to liberty by some bold exploit. While in this state of mind, a plan for taking Ticonderoga and Crown-Point by surprise, which was formed by several gentlemen in Connecticut, was communicated to him, and he readily engaged in the project. Receiving directions from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys and conduct the enterprise, he collected two hundred and thirty of the hardy settlers, and proceeded to Castleton. Here he was unexpectedly joined by Col. Arnold, who had been commissioned by the Massachusetts committee to raise four hundred men, and effect

the same object which was now about to be accomplished. They reached the lake opposite Ticonderoga on the evening of the 9th of May, 1775. With the utmost difficulty boats were procured, and eighty-three men were landed near the garrison. Arnold now wished to assume the command, to lead on the men, and swore that he would go in himself the first. Allen swore that he should not. The dispute beginning to run high, some of the gentlemen present interposed, and it was agreed that both should go in together, Allen on the right hand, and Arnold on the left. The following is Allen's own account of the affair :—

“The first systematical and bloody attempt at Lexington, to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take a part with my country. And while I was wishing for an opportunity to signalize myself in its behalf, directions were privately sent to me from the then colony, now state of Connecticut, to raise the Green Mountain Boys, and, if possible, with them to surprise and take the fortress of Ticonderoga. This enterprise I cheerfully undertook : and after first guarding all the several passes that led thither, to cut off all intelligence between the garrison and the

country, made a forced march from Bennington, and arrived at the lake opposite Ticonderoga on the evening of the 9th day of May, 1775, with two hundred and thirty valiant Green-mountain Boys; and it was with the utmost difficulty that I procured boats to cross the lake. However, I landed eighty-three men near the garrison, and sent the boats back for the rear-guard, commanded by Col. Seth Warner; but the day began to dawn, and I found myself necessitated to attack the fort before the rear could cross the lake; and as it was viewed hazardous, I harangued the officers and soldiers in the manner following:—‘Friends and fellow-soldiers, you have, for a number of years past, been a scourge and terror to arbitrary powers. Your valour has been famed abroad, and acknowledged, as appears by the advice and orders to me from the General Assembly of Connecticut, to surprise and take the garrison now before us. I now propose to advance before you, and in person conduct you through the wicket-gate; for we must this morning either quit our pretensions to valour, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes; and inasmuch as it is a desperate attempt, which none but the bravest of men

dare undertake, I do not urge it on any contrary to his will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelock.'

"The men being at this time drawn up in three ranks, each poised his firelock. I ordered them to face to the right, and at the head of the centre file, marched them immediately to the wicket-gate aforesaid, where I found a sentry posted, who instantly snapped his fusee at me. I ran immediately towards him, and he retreated through the covered way into the parade within the garrison, gave a halloo, and ran under a bomb-proof. My party, who followed me into the fort, I formed on the parade in such a manner as to face the barracks, which faced each other. The garrison being asleep, except the sentries, we gave three huzzas, which greatly surprised them. One of the sentries made a pass at one of my officers with a charged bayonet, and slightly wounded him. My first thought was to kill him with my sword, but in an instant I altered the design and fury of the blow to a slight cut on the side of the head; upon which he dropped his gun and asked quarters, which I readily granted him; and demanded the place where the commanding officer kept. He showed me a pair of

stairs in the front of the garrison, which led up to a second story in said barracks, to which I immediately repaired, and ordered the commander, Captain Delaplace, to come forth instantly, or I would sacrifice the whole garrison; at which time the captain came immediately to the door with his breeches in his hand, when I ordered him to deliver to me the fort instantly; he asked me by what authority I demanded it. I answered him, 'In the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress.' The authority of Congress being very little known at that time, he began to speak again; but I interrupted him, and with my drawn sword near his head, again demanded an immediate surrender of the garrison; with which he then complied, and ordered his men to be forthwith paraded without arms, as he had given up the garrison. In the meantime, some of my officers had given orders, and in consequence thereof, sundry of the barrack doors were beat down, and about one third of the garrison imprisoned, which consisted of said commander, a Lieutenant Feltham, a conductor of artillery, a gunner, two sergeants, and forty-four rank and file; about one hundred pieces of cannon, one



thirteen inch mortar, and a number of swivels. This surprise was carried into execution in the gray of the morning of the 10th of May, 1775. The sun seemed to rise that morning with a superior lustre; and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the liberty and freedom of America. Happy it was for me, at that time, that the future pages of the book of fate, which afterwards unfolded a miserable scene of two years and eight months' imprisonment, were hid from my view."

This brilliant exploit secured to Allen a high reputation for intrepid valour throughout the country. In the fall of 1775, he was sent twice into Canada to observe the dispositions of the people, and attach them, if possible, to the American cause. During one of these excursions, he made a rash and romantic attempt upon Montreal. He had been sent by General Montgomery, with a guard of eighty men, on a tour into the villages in the neighbourhood. On his return he was met by a Major Brown, who had been on the same business. It was agreed between them to make a descent upon the island of Montreal. Allen

was to cross the river, and land with his party a little north of the city; while Brown was to pass over a little to the south, with near two hundred men. Allen crossed the river in the night, as had been proposed; but, by some means, Brown and his party failed. Instead of returning, Allen, with great rashness, concluded to maintain his ground. General Carlton soon received intelligence of Allen's situation and the smallness of his numbers, and marched out against him with about forty regulars, and a considerable number of English, Canadians, and Indians, amounting, in the whole, to some hundreds. Allen attempted to defend himself, but it was to no purpose. Being deserted by several of his men, and having fifteen killed, he, with thirty-eight of his men, were taken prisoners.

He was now kept for some time in irons, and was treated with the most rigorous and unsparing cruelty. From his narrative, it appears that the irons placed on him were uncommonly heavy, and so fastened, that he could not lie down otherwise than on his back. A chest was his seat by day and his bed by night. Soon after his capture, still loaded with irons, he was sent to England, being assured

that the halter would be the reward of his rebellion when he arrived there. Finding that threats and menaces had no effect upon him, high command and a large tract of the conquered country, were afterward offered him, on condition that he would join the British. To the last he replied, "that he viewed their offer of conquered United States land to be similar to that which the devil offered to Jesus Christ: to give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him, when, at the same time, the poor devil had not one foot of land upon earth."

After his arrival, about the middle of December, he was lodged, for a short time, in Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth. On the 8th of January, 1776, he was put on board a frigate, and by a circuitous route again carried to Halifax. Here he remained closely confined in the jail from June to October, when he was removed to New-York. During the passage to this place, Captain Burke, a daring prisoner, proposed to kill the British captain, and seize the frigate; but Allen refused to engage in the plot, and was probably the means of saving the life of Captain Smith, who had treated him with kindness. He was kept at New-York

about a year and a half, sometimes imprisoned, and sometimes permitted to be on parole. While here, he had an opportunity to observe the inhuman manner in which the American prisoners were treated. In one of the churches in which they were crowded, he saw seven lying dead at one time, and others biting pieces of chips from hunger. He calculated, that of the prisoners taken on Long-Island and at Fort-Washington, near two thousand perished by hunger and cold, or in consequence of diseases occasioned by the impurity of their prisons.

Colonel Allen was exchanged for a Colonel Campbell, May 6th, 1778, and after having repaired to head quarters, and offered his services to General Washington, in case his health should be restored, he returned to Vermont. His arrival on the evening of the last day of May gave his friends great joy, and it was announced by the discharge of cannon. As an expression of confidence in his patriotism and military talents, he was very soon appointed to the command of the state militia. His intrepidity, however, was never again brought to the test, though his patriotism was tried by an unsuccessful attempt of the British

to bribe him to attempt a union of Vermont with Canada. He died suddenly on his estate, February 13th, 1789.

General Allen was brave, humane, and generous; yet his conduct does not seem to have been much influenced by considerations respecting that holy and merciful Being, whose character and whose commands are disclosed to us in the Scriptures. His notions with regard to religion were loose and absurd. He believed with Pythagoras, the heathen philosopher, that man, after death, would transmigrate into beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, &c. and often informed his friends that he himself expected to live again in the form of a large white horse.

## JOHN CADWALADER,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

THIS zealous and inflexible friend of America was born in Philadelphia, 1742. He was distinguished for his intrepidity as a soldier, in upholding the cause of freedom during the most discouraging periods of danger and misfortune that America ever beheld.

At the dawn of the revolution, he commanded a corps of volunteers, designated as “*The silk stocking company*,” of which nearly all the members were appointed to commissions in the line of the army. He afterwards was appointed colonel of one of the city battalions, and being thence promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, was intrusted with the command of the Pennsylvania troops, in the important operations of the winter campaign of 1776 and 1777. He acted with this command, as a volunteer, in the actions of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and on other occasions, and received the thanks of General Washington, whose confidence and regard he uniformly enjoyed.

The merits and services of General Cadwalader, induced Congress, early in 1778, to compliment him, by a unanimous vote, with the appointment of general of cavalry ; which appointment he declined, under an impression that he could be more useful to his country in the sphere in which he had been acting.

He was strongly and ardently attached to General Washington, and his celebrated duel with General Conway arose from his spirited opposition to the intrigues of that officer to undermine the standing of the commander-in-chief. The following anecdote of the encounter is related in the "Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War."

"The particulars of this duel, originating in the honourable feelings of General Cadwalader, indignant at the attempt of his adversary to injure the reputation of the commander-in-chief, by representing him as unqualified for the exalted station which he held, appears worthy of record. Nor ought the coolness observed on the occasion by the parties to be forgotten, as it evinces very strongly, that though imperious circumstances may compel men of nice feeling to meet, the dictates of honour may be satisfied without the smallest

deviation from the most rigid rules of politeness. When arrived at the appointed rendezvous, General Cadwalader, accompanied by General Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, General Conway by Colonel Morgan, of Princeton, it was agreed upon by the seconds, that on the word being given, the principals might fire in their own time, and at discretion, either by an off-hand shot, or by taking a deliberate aim. The parties having declared themselves ready, the word was given to proceed. General Conway immediately raised his pistol, and fired with great composure, but without effect. General Cadwalader was about to do so, when a sudden gust of wind occurring, he kept his pistol down and remained tranquil. ‘Why do you not fire, General Cadwalader?’ exclaimed Conway. ‘Because,’ replied General Cadwalader, ‘we came not here to trifle. Let the gale pass and I shall act my part.’ ‘You shall have a fair chance of performing it well,’ rejoined Conway, and immediately presented a full front. General Cadwalader fired, and his ball entering the mouth of his antagonist, he fell directly forward on his face. Colonel Morgan running to his assistance, found the blood spouting from behind his neck, and lifting up the club of his



hair, saw the ball drop from it. It had passed through his head, greatly to the derangement of his tongue and teeth, but did not inflict a mortal wound. As soon as the blood was sufficiently washed away to allow him to speak, General Conway, turning to his opponent, said, good humouredly, ‘ You fire, general, with much deliberation, and certainly with a great deal of effect.’ The parties then parted, free from all resentment.”

This patriotic and exemplary man died February 10th, 1786. In his private life he exemplified all the virtues that ennoble the character of man. His conduct was not marked with the least degree of malevolence or party spirit. Those who honestly differed from him in opinion, he always treated with singular tenderness. In sociability and cheerfulness of temper, honesty and goodness of heart, independence of spirit, and warmth of friendship, he had no superior. Never did any man die more lamented by his friends and neighbours; to his family and relations his death was a stroke still more severe.

## THOMAS CONWAY,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

“THIS gentleman was born in Ireland, and went with his parents to France at the age of six years, and was, from his youth, educated to the profession of arms. He had obtained considerable reputation as a military officer, and as a man of sound understanding and judgment. He arrived from France with ample recommendations, and Congress appointed him a brigadier-general in May, 1777. He soon became conspicuously inimical to General Washington, and sought occasions to traduce his character. In this he found support from a faction in Congress, who were desirous that the commander-in-chief should be superseded. The Congress not long after elected General Conway to the office of inspector-general to our army, with the rank of Major-general, though he had insulted the commander-in-chief, and justified himself in doing so. This gave umbrage to the brigadiers over whom he was promoted, and they remonstrated to Congress against the proceeding, as implicating their

honour and character. Conway, now smarting under the imputation of having instigated a hostile faction against the illustrious Washington, and being extremely unpopular among the officers in general, and finding his situation did not accord with his feelings and views, resigned his commission, without having commenced the duties of inspector. He was believed to be an unprincipled intriguer, and after his resignation, his calumny and detraction of the commander-in-chief, and the army generally, were exercised with unrestrained virulence and outrage.

No man was more zealously engaged in the scheme of elevating General Gates to the station of commander-in-chief. His vile insinuations and direct assertions in the public newspapers, and in private conversations, relative to the incapacity of Washington to conduct the operations of the army, received countenance from several members of Congress, who were induced to declare their want of confidence in him, and the affair assumed an aspect threatening the most disastrous consequences. Conway maintained a correspondence with General Gates on the subject, and in one of his letters he thus expresses himself: "Heaven

has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it." He was himself at that time one of the counsellors against whom he so basely inveighs. Envy and malice ever are attendant on exalted genius and merit. But the delusion was of short continuance; the name of Washington proved unassailable, and the base intrigue of Conway recoiled with bitterness on his own head.

General Cadwalader, of Pennsylvania, indignant at the attempt to vilify the character of Washington, resolved to avenge himself on the aggressor in personal combat. The particulars of this meeting are given in the biography of General Cadwalader. General Conway, conceiving his wound to be mortal, and believing death to be near, acted honourably in addressing to General Washington, whom he had perfidiously slandered, the following letter of apology :

*" Philadelphia, Feb. 23, 1778.*

" Sir,—I find myself just able to hold my pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written, or said any thing disagreeable to your excellency. My career will

soon be over, therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, esteem, and veneration of these states, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

THS. CONWAY."

## WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE,

Colonel-Commandant of the State Cavalry of North-Carolina.

COLONEL DAVIE was born in the village of Egremont, in England, on the 20th of June, 1759. His father, visiting South Carolina soon after the peace of 1763, brought with him this son; and returning to England, confided him to the Rev. William Richardson, his maternal uncle: who becoming much attached to his nephew, not only took charge of his education, but adopted him as his son and heir. At the proper age, William was sent to an academy in North Carolina; from whence he was, after a few years, removed to the college of Nassau-Hall, in Princeton, New Jersey, then becoming the resort of most of the southern youth, under the auspices of the learned and respectable Dr. Witherspoon. Here he finished his education, graduating in the autumn of 1776, a year memorable in our military as well as civil annals.

Returning home, young Davie found himself shut out for a time from the army, as the commissions for the troops just levied had been

issued. He went to Salisbury, where he commenced the study of law. The war continuing, contrary to the expectations which generally prevailed when it began, Davie could no longer resist the wish to plant himself among the defenders of his country. Inducing a worthy and popular friend, rather too old for military service, to raise a troop of dragoons, as the readiest mode of accomplishing his object, Davie obtained a lieutenancy in this troop. Without delay the captain joined the southern army, and soon afterward returned home on a furlough. The command of the troop devolving on Lieutenant Davie, it was, at his request, annexed to the legion of Count Pulaski, where Captain Davie continued, until promoted by Major-General Lincoln to the station of brigade-major of cavalry. In this office Davie served until the affair at Stono, devoting his leisure to the acquirement of professional knowledge, and rising fast in the esteem of the general and army. When Lincoln attempted to dislodge Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland from his entrenched camp on the Stono, Davie received a severe wound, and was removed from camp to the hospital in

Charleston, where he was confined five months.

Soon after his recovery, he was empowered by the government of North Carolina to raise a small legionary corps, consisting of one troop of dragoons and two companies of mounted infantry ; at the head of which he was placed with the rank of major.

Quickly succeeding in completing his corps, in whose equipment he expended the last remaining shilling of an estate bequeathed to him by his uncle, he took the field, and was sedulously engaged in protecting the country between Charlotte and Camden from the enemy's predatory excursions. On the fatal 19th of August, he was hastening with his corps to join the army, when he met our dispersed and flying troops. He nevertheless continued to advance toward the conqueror ; and by his prudence, zeal, and vigilance, saved a few of our wagons, and many of our stragglers. Acquainted with the movement of Sumpter, and justly apprehending that he would be destroyed unless speedily advised of the defeat of Gates, he despatched immediately a courier to that officer, communicating what had happened, performing, in the midst



of distress and confusion, the part of an experienced captain.

So much was his conduct respected by the government of North Carolina, that he was in the course of September promoted to the rank of colonel commandant of the cavalry of the state.

At the two gloomiest epochs of the southern war, soon after the fall of Charleston and the overthrow of Gates, it was the good fortune of Colonel Davie to be the first to shed a gleam through the surrounding darkness, and give hope to the country by the brilliancy of his exploits. In one instance, without loss or injury on his part, he entirely destroyed an escort of provisions, taking forty prisoners, with their horses and arms. In the other, under the immediate eye of a large British force, which was actually beating to arms to attack him, he routed a party stronger than his own, killing and wounding sixty of the enemy, and carrying off with him ninety-six horses and one hundred and twenty stand of arms.

When Lord Cornwallis entered Charlotte, a small village in North Carolina, Colonel Davie, at the head of his detachment, threw himself in his front, determined to give him a specimen

of the firmness and gallantry with which the inhabitants of the place were prepared to dispute with his lordship their native soil.

Colonel Tarlton's legion formed the British van, led by Major Hanger, the commander himself being confined by sickness. When that celebrated corps had advanced near to the centre of the village, where the Americans were posted, Davie poured into it so destructive a fire, that it immediately wheeled and retired in disorder. Being rallied on the commons, and again led on to the charge, it received on the same spot another fire with similar effect.

Lord Cornwallis witnessing the confusion thus produced among his choicest troops, rode up in person, and in a tone of dissatisfaction upbraided the legion with unsoldierly conduct, reminding it of its former exploits and reputation.

Pressed on his flanks by the British infantry, Colonel Davie had now fallen back to a new and well selected position. To dislodge him from this, the legion cavalry advanced on him a third time, in rapid charge, in full view of their commander-in-chief, but in vain. Another fire from the American marksmen

killed several of their officers, wounded Major Hanger, and repulsed them again with increased confusion.

The main body of the British being now within musket shot, the American leader abandoned the contest.

It was by strokes like these that he seriously crippled and intimidated his enemy, acquired an elevated standing in the estimation of his friends, and served very essentially the interest of freedom.

In this station he was found by General Greene, on assuming the command of the southern army; whose attention had been occupied from his entrance into North Carolina, in remedying the disorder in the quarter-master and commissary departments. To the first, Carrington had been called; and Davie was now induced to take upon himself the last, much as he preferred the station he then possessed. At the head of this department, Colonel Davie remained throughout the trying campaign which followed, contributing greatly by his talents, his zeal, his local knowledge, and his influence, to the maintenance of the difficult and successful operations which followed. While before Ninety-Six, Greene,

foreseeing the difficulties again to be encountered in consequence of the accession of force to the enemy by the arrival of three regiments from Ireland, determined to send a confidential officer to the legislature of North Carolina, then in session, to represent to them his relative condition, and to urge their adoption of effectual measures without delay, for the collection of magazines of provisions and the reinforcement of the army. Colonel Davie was selected by Greene for this important mission, and immediately repaired to the seat of government, where he ably and faithfully exerted himself to give effect to the views of his general.

The effect of the capture of Cornwallis assuring the quick return of peace, Colonel Davie returned home, and resumed the profession with the practice of the law in the town of Halifax, on the Roanoke.

He was afterward governor of North Carolina, and one of our ambassadors to France at a very portentous conjuncture.

The war in the south was ennobled by great and signal instances of individual and partizan valour and enterprise. Scarcely do the most high drawn heroes of fiction surpass, in their darings and extraordinary achievements, many

of the real ones of Pickens, Marion, Sumpter, and Davie, who figured in the southern states during the conflict of the revolution.

Colonel Davie, although younger by several years, possessed talents of a higher order, and was much more accomplished in education and manners, than either of his three competitors for fame. For the comeliness of his person, his martial air, his excellence in horsemanship, and his consummate powers of field eloquence, he had scarcely an equal in the armies of his country. But his chief excellence lay in the magnanimity and generosity of his soul, his daring courage, his vigilance and address, and his unrelaxing activity and endurance of toil. If he was less frequently engaged in actual combat than either of his three compeers, it was not because he was inferior to either of them in enterprise or love of battle. His district being more interior, was, at first, less frequently invaded by British detachments. When, however, Lord Cornwallis ultimately advanced into that quarter, his scouts and foraging parties found in Colonel Davie and his brave associates, as formidable an enemy as they had ever encountered.

## CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL AND LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF SOUTH  
CAROLINA.

THIS venerable patriot of the revolution was born in Charleston, about the year 1724. He was sent to England by his father, while a youth, where he was educated. At the age of sixteen he returned to Carolina, and finished his education in the counting-house of Mr. Lawrence, of Philadelphia.

General Gadsden had naturally a strong love for independence. He was born a republican. Under a well ordered government he was a good subject, but could not brook the encroachments of any man, or body of men, to entrench on his rights.

“As early as 1766,” says Judge Johnson, “there was at least one man in South Carolina who foresaw and foretold the views of the British government, and explicitly urged his adherents to the resolution to resist even to death. General Gadsden, it is well known, always favoured the most decisive and energetic measures. He thought it folly to temporize,

and insisted that cordial reconciliation, on honourable terms, was impossible. When the news of the repeal of the stamp-act arrived, and the whole community was in ecstasy at the event, he, on the contrary, received it with indignation, and privately convening a party of his friends, he harangued them at considerable length on the folly of relaxing their opposition and vigilance, or indulging the fallacious hope that Great-Britain would relinquish her designs or pretensions. He drew their attention to the preamble of the act, and forcibly pressed upon them the absurdity of rejoicing at an act that still asserted and maintained the absolute dominion over them. And then reviewing all the chances of succeeding in a struggle to break the fetters, when again imposed upon them, he pressed them to prepare their minds for the event. The address was received with silent but profound devotion; and with linked hands, the whole party pledged themselves to resist; a pledge that was faithfully redeemed when the hour of trial arrived."

"In June, 1775, when the Provincial Congress determined to raise troops, Gadsden, though absent on public duty at Philadelphia, was, without his consent or knowledge, elected

colonel of the first regiment. For personal courage he was inferior to no man. In knowledge of the military art, he had several equals, and some superiors ; but from the great confidence reposed in his patriotism, and the popularity of his name, he was put at the head of the new military establishment. He left Congress, and repaired to the camp in Carolina, declaring that ‘wherever his country placed him, whether in the civil or military department ; and if in the latter, whether as corporal or colonel, he would cheerfully serve to the utmost of his ability.’”

In the next year he was promoted by Congress to the rank of brigadier-general. He commanded at Fort-Johnson, when the fort on Sullivan’s Island was attacked ; and he was prepared to receive the enemy in their progress to Charleston. The repulse of the British prevented his coming into action. Their retreat relieved South Carolina from the pressure of war for two years. In this period, Gadsden resigned his military command, but continued to serve in the assembly and the privy council, and was very active in preparing for and endeavouring to repel the successive invasions of the state by the British in 1779 and 1780.



He was the friend of every vigorous measure, and always ready to undertake the most laborious duties, and to put himself in the front of danger.

When Charleston surrendered by capitulation, he was lieutenant-governor, and paroled as such, and honourably kept his engagement. For the three months which followed, he was undisturbed; but on the defeat of Gates, in August, 1780, the British resolved that he and several others, who discovered no disposition to return to the condition of British subjects, should be sent out of the country. He was accordingly taken in his own house by a file of soldiers, and put on board a vessel in the harbour. He knew not why he was taken up, nor what was intended to be done with him, but supposed it was introductory to a trial for treason or rebellion, as the British gave out that the country was completely conquered.

He was soon joined by twenty-eight compatriots, who were also taken up on the same day.

He drew from his pocket half a dollar, and turning to his associates with a cheerful countenance, assured them that was all the money

he had at his command. The conquerors sent him and his companions to St. Augustine, then a British garrison.

On their landing, limits of some extent were offered to them, on condition of their renewing the parole they had given in Charleston, "to do nothing injurious to the British interest." When this was tendered to General Gadsden, he replied, "That he had already given one, and honourably observed it; that, in violation of his rights as a prisoner under a capitulation, he had been sent from Charleston, and that, therefore, he saw no use in giving a second parole." The commanding officer replied, "He would enter into no arguments, but demanded an explicit answer whether he would or would not renew his parole." General Gadsden answered with that high-minded republican spirit which misfortunes could not keep down, "I will not. In God I put my trust, and fear no consequences." "Think better of it, sir," said the officer; "a second refusal will fix your destiny; a dungeon will be your future habitation." "Prepare it then," said the inflexible patriot, "I will give no parole, *so help me God.*" He was instantly hurried off to the castle, and there confined for

ten months in a small room, and in a state of complete separation from his fellow-prisoners, and in total ignorance of the advantages gained by his countrymen, but with most ample details of their defeats, and particularly of the sequestration of his estate with that of the other Carolina rebels.

After Andre's arrest, Colonel Glazier, the governor of the castle, sent to advise General Gadsden to prepare himself for the worst, intimating that as General Washington had been assured of retaliation if Andre was executed, it was not unlikely that he would be the person selected. To this message he magnanimously replied, "That he was always prepared to die for his country, and that he would rather ascend the scaffold than purchase with his life the dishonour of his country."

In the course of 1781, the victories of General Greene procured an equivalent for the release of all the prisoners belonging to South Carolina. Mr. Gadsden was discharged from close confinement, and rejoined his fellow-prisoners. The reciprocal congratulations on the change of circumstances, and on seeing each other after ten months separation, though in the same garrison, may be

more easily conceived than expressed. They were all conveyed by water from St. Augustine to Philadelphia, and there delivered. On their arrival they were informed, for the first time, of the happy turn American affairs had taken subsequent to Gates' defeat. General Gadsden hastened back to Carolina to aid in recovering it from the British. He was elected a member of the assembly which met at Jacksonborough in 1782.

General Gadsden continued in the country throughout the year 1782, serving as one of the governor's council. On the 14th of December, 1782, he, with the American army and citizens, made their triumphant entry into Charleston in the rear of the evacuating British. In the first moment of his return, after an absence of more than two years, he had the pleasure of seeing the British fleet, upward of three hundred sail, in the act of departing from the port, and the capital, as well as the country, restored to its proper owners. Mr. Gadsden henceforward devoted himself to private pursuits, but occasionally served in the assembly, and with unspeakable delight in the two state conventions; the one for the ratification of the national constitution

in 1788, and the other for revising the state constitution in 1790.

He survived his 81st year, generally enjoying good health, and at last died, more from the consequences of an accidental fall than the weight of disease, or decays of nature.

His opinions of lawyers were not favourable. He considered their pleadings as generally tending to obscure what was plain, and to make difficulties where there were none ; and much more subservient to render their trade lucrative than to advance justice. He adhered to that clause of Mr. Locke's fundamental constitution, which makes it "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward;" and wished that the lawyers, when necessary to justice, should be provided with salaries at the public expense, like the judges, that they might be saved from the shame of hiring their tongues to the first who offered or gave the largest fee. Of physicians he thought very little. He considered temperance and exercise superior to all their prescriptions, and that in most cases they rendered them altogether unnecessary. In many things he was particular. His passions were strong, and required all his religion and philosophy to curb them.

His patriotism was both disinterested and ardent. He declined all offices of profit, and through life refused to take the compensations annexed by law to such offices of trust as were conferred on him. His character was impressed with the hardihood of antiquity; and he possessed an erect, firm, intrepid mind, which was well calculated for buffeting with revolutionary storms."

## HORATIO GATES,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

GENERAL GATES was a native of England, and was born in the year 1728. He was educated to the military profession, and entered the British army at an early age, in the capacity of lieutenant, where he laid the foundation of his future military excellence. Without purchase he obtained the rank of major. He was aid to General Monckton at the capture of Martinico, and after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he was among the first troops which landed at Halifax under General Cornwallis. He was an officer in the army which accompanied the unfortunate Braddock in the expedition against Fort du Quesné, in the year 1755, and was shot through the body.

When peace was concluded, he purchased an estate in Virginia, where he resided until the commencement of the American war, in 1775. Having evinced his zeal and attachment to the violated rights of his adopted country, and sustaining a high military reputation, he was appointed by Congress adjutant-

general, with the rank of brigadier, and he accompanied General Washington to the American camp at Cambridge, in July, 1775, where he was employed for some time in a subordinate, but highly useful, capacity.

In June, 1776, Gates was appointed to the command of the army of Canada, and on reaching Ticonderoga, he still claimed the command of it, though it was no longer in Canada, and was in the department of General Schuyler, a senior officer, who had rendered eminent services in that command. On representation to Congress, it was declared not to be their intention to place Gates over Schuyler, and it was recommended to these officers to endeavour to cooperate harmoniously. General Schuyler was, however, shortly after directed by Congress to resume the command of the northern department, and General Gates withdrew himself from it; after which he repaired to head-quarters, and joined the army under General Washington in Jersey.

Owing to the prevalent dissatisfaction with the conduct of General Schuyler in the evacuation of Ticonderoga, Gates was again directed to take command. He arrived about the 21st of August, and continued the exertions



to restore the affairs of the department, which had been so much depressed by the losses consequent on the evacuation of Ticonderoga. It was fortunate for General Gates that the retreat from Ticonderoga had been conducted under other auspices than his, and that he took the command when the indefatigable, but unrequited labours of Schuyler, and the courage of Stark and his mountaineers, had already ensured the ultimate defeat of Burgoyne.

Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side, and encamped on the height, about two miles from Gates' camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. This movement was the subject of much discussion. Some charged it on the impetuosity of the general, and alleged that it was premature, before he was sure of aid from the royal forces posted in New York, but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his superiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North River, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and made the ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable. The Americans, elated with their successes at Bennington and Fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the

advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution.

The attack began a little before mid-day, September 19th, between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders of both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half; but after a short pause, it became general, and continued for three hours without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove, and were driven by each other. The British artillery fell into our possession at every charge, but we could neither turn the pieces upon the enemy nor bring them off, so sudden were the alternate advantages. It was a gallant conflict, in which death, by familiarity, lost his terrors; and such was the order of the Americans, that, as General Wilkinson states, the wounded men, after having their wounds dressed, in many instances returned again into the battle. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every side. Several of the Americans placed themselves on high trees, and as often as they could dis-

tinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence. The British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon.

The British lost upwards of five hundred men, including their killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost three hundred and nineteen. Thirty-six out of forty-eight British artillerists were killed or wounded. The 62d British regiment, which was five hundred strong when it left Canada, was reduced to sixty men, and four or five officers. In this engagement General Gates, assisted by Generals Lincoln and Arnold, commanded the American army, and General Burgoyne was at the head of his army, and Generals Phillips, Reidesel, and Frazer, with their respective commands, were actively engaged.

This battle was fought by the general concert and zealous cooperation of the corps engaged, and was sustained more by individual courage than military discipline. General Arnold, who afterwards traitorously deserted his country, behaved with the most undaunted

courage, leading on the troops, and encouraging them by his personal efforts and daring exposure. The gallant Colonel Morgan obtained immortal honour on this day. Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, with the eighth Massachusetts' regiment, remained in the field till about eleven o'clock, and was the last who retired. Major Hull commanded a detachment of three hundred men, who fought with such signal ardour that more than half of them were killed. The whole number of Americans engaged in this action was about two thousand five hundred; the remainder of the army, from its unfavourable situation, took little or no part in the action.

Each army claimed the victory, and each believed himself to have beaten, with only part of its force, nearly the whole of the enemy. The advantage, however, was decidedly in favour of the Americans. In every quarter they had been the assailants, and after an encounter of several hours they had not lost a single inch of ground.

General Gates, whose numbers increased daily, remained on his old ground. His right, which extended to the river, had been rendered

unassailable, and he used great industry to strengthen his left.

Both armies retained their position until the 7th of October ; Burgoyne, in the hope of being relieved by Sir Henry Clinton ; and Gates, in the confidence of growing stronger every day, and of rendering the destruction of his enemy more certain. But receiving no further intelligence from Sir Henry, the British general determined to make one more trial of strength with his adversary. The following account of the brilliant affair of the 7th of October, 1777, is given in Thacher's Military Journal :—

“I am fortunate enough to obtain from our officers, a particular account of the glorious event of the 7th instant. The advanced parties of the two armies came into contact about three o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, and immediately displayed their hostile attitude. The Americans soon approached the royal army, and each party in defiance awaited the deadly blow. The gallant Colonel Morgan, at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action, and rushed courageously on the British grenadiers, commanded by Major Ackland ; and the furious attack was

most firmly resisted. In all parts of the field the conflict became extremely arduous and obstinate; an unconquerable spirit on each side disdaining to yield the palm of victory. Death appeared to have lost his terrors; breaches in the ranks were no sooner made than supplied by fresh combatants, awaiting a similar fate. At length the Americans press forward with renewed strength and ardour, and compel the whole British line, commanded by Burgoyne himself, to yield to their deadly fire, and they retreat in disorder. The German troops remain firmly posted at their lines; these were now boldly assaulted by Brigadier-General Learned, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, at the head of their respective commands, with such intrepidity, that the works were carried, and their brave commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, was slain. The Germans were pursued to their encampment, which, with all the equipage of the brigade, fell into our hands. Colonel Cilley, of General Poor's brigade, having acquitted himself honourably, was seen astride on a brass field-piece, exulting in the capture. Major Hull, of the Massachusetts line, was among those who so bravely stormed the enemy's entrench-

ment, and acted a conspicuous part. General Arnold, in consequence of a serious misunderstanding with General Gates, was not vested with any command, by which he was exceedingly chagrined and irritated. He entered the field, however, and his conduct was marked with intemperate rashness ; flourishing his sword, and animating the troops, he struck an officer on the head without cause, and gave him a considerable wound. He exposed himself to every danger, and, with a small party of riflemen, rushed into the rear of the enemy, where he received a ball which fractured his leg, and his horse was killed under him. Nightfall put a stop to our brilliant career, though the victory was most decisive ; and it is with pride and exultation that we recount the triumph of American bravery. Besides Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman slain, General Frazer, one of the most valuable officers in the British service, was mortally wounded, and survived but a few hours. Frazer was the soul of the British army, and was just changing the disposition of a part of the troops to repel a strong impression which the Americans had made, and were still making, on the British right, when Morgan called together two or

three of his best marksmen, and pointing to Frazer, said, ‘Do you see that gallant officer? that is General Frazer—I respect and honour him; but it is necessary he should die.’ This was enough. Frazer immediately received his mortal wound, and was carried off the field. Sir Francis Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, was brought into our camp with a mortal wound, and Major Ackland, who commanded the British grenadiers, was wounded through both legs, and is our prisoner. Several other officers, and about two hundred privates, are prisoners in our hands, with nine pieces of cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition, which was much wanted for our troops. The loss on our side is supposed not to exceed thirty killed, and one hundred wounded, in obtaining this signal victory.”

The position of the British army, after the action of the 7th, was so dangerous, that an immediate and total change of position became necessary, and Burgoyne took immediate measures to regain his former camp at Saratoga. There he arrived with little molestation from his adversary. His provisions being now reduced to the supply of a few days, the transports of artillery and baggage towards



Canada being rendered impracticable by the judicious measures of his adversary, the British general resolved upon a rapid retreat, merely with what the soldiers could carry. On examination, however, it was found that they were deprived even of this resource, as the passes through which their route lay, were so strongly guarded, that nothing but artillery could clear them. In this desperate situation a parley took place, and on the 17th of October the whole army surrendered to General Gates.

The prize obtained consisted of more than five thousand prisoners, forty-two pieces of brass ordnance, seven thousand muskets, clothing for seven thousand men, with a great quantity of tents, and other military stores.

Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there until the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected honour on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his con-

queror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers of both armies met at General Gates' quarters, and for a while seemed to forget, in social and convivial pleasures, that they had been enemies.

General Wilkinson gives the following account of the meeting between General Burgoyne and General Gates :

“General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp, Burgoyne in a rich royal uniform, and Gates in a plain blue frock. When they had approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up and halted. I then named the gentleman, and General Burgoyne, raising his hat most gracefully, said, ‘The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner;’ to which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, ‘I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your excellency.’”

The thanks of Congress were voted to General Gates and his army; and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this great event, was ordered to be struck, to be presented to him by the president, in the name of the United States.

It was not long after that the wonderful discovery was supposed to be made, that the illustrious Washington was incompetent to the task of conducting the operations of the American army, and that General Gates, if elevated to the chief command, would speedily meliorate the condition of our affairs. There were those who imputed to General Gates himself a principal agency in the affair, which, however, he promptly disavowed. But certain it is, that a private correspondence was maintained between him and the intriguing General Conway, in which the measures pursued by General Washington are criticised and reprobated; and in one of Conway's letters, he pointedly ascribes our want of success to a weak general and bad counsellors. General Gates, on finding that General Washington had been apprised of the correspondence, addressed his excellency, requesting that he would disclose the name of his informant; and in violation of the rules of decorum, he addressed the commander-in-chief on a subject of extreme delicacy, in an open letter transmitted to the president of Congress. General Washington, however, did not hesitate to disclose the name and circumstances which

brought the affair to light. General Gates, then, with inexcusable disingenuousness, attempted to vindicate the conduct of Conway, and to deny that the letter contained the reprehensible expressions in question, but utterly refused to produce the original letter. This subject, however, was so ably and candidly discussed by General Washington, as to cover his adversary with shame and humiliation. It was thought inexcusable in Gates, that he neglected to communicate to the commander-in-chief an account of so important an event as the capture of the British army at Saratoga, but left his excellency to obtain the information by common report.

Dr. Thacher, in his Military Journal, relates the following anecdote: "Mr. T——, an ensign in our regiment, has, for some time, discovered symptoms of mental derangement. Yesterday he intruded himself at General Gates' head-quarters, and after some amusing conversation, he put himself in the attitude of devotion, and prayed that God would pardon General Gates for endeavouring to supersede that god-like man, Washington. The general appeared to be much disturbed, and directed Mr. Pierce, his aid-de-camp, to take him away."

On the 13th of June, 1780, General Gates was appointed to the chief command of the southern army. Rich in fame from the fields of Saratoga, he hastened to execute the high and important trust; and the arrival of an officer so exalted in reputation, had an immediate and happy effect on the spirits of the soldiery and the hopes of the people. It was anticipated that he who had humbled Great Britain on the heights of the Hudson, and liberated New York from a formidable invasion, would prove no less successful in the south, and become the deliverer of Carolina and Georgia from lawless rapine and military rule. But anticipations were vain, and the best founded hopes were blighted! In the first and only encounter which he had with Lord Cornwallis, at Camden, August 15th, he suffered a total defeat, and was obliged to fly from the enemy for personal safety.\*

Proudly calculating on the weight of his name, and too confident in his own superiority, he slighted the counsel which he ought to have respected, and hurrying impetuously into the

\* When the appointment of General Gates to the chief command of the southern army was announced, General Lee remarked, that "*his northern laurels would soon be exchanged for southern willows.*"

field of battle, his tide of popularity ebbed as fast at Camden as it had flowed at Saratoga.

It would be great injustice, however, to attribute the misfortune altogether to the commander, under his peculiar circumstances. A large proportion of his force consisted of raw militia, who were panic-struck, and fled at the first fire ; their rout was absolute and irretrievable. In vain did Gates attempt to rally them. That their speed might be the greater, they threw away their arms and accoutrements, and dashed into the woods and swamps for safety. A rout more perfectly wild and disorderly, or marked with greater consternation and dismay, was never witnessed. Honour, manhood, country, home, every recollection sacred to the feelings of the soldier and the soul of the brave, was merged in an ignominious love of life.

But from the moment General Gates assumed the command in the south, his former judgment and fortune seemed to forsake him. He was anxious to come to action immediately, and to terminate the war by a few bold and energetic measures ; and two days after his arrival in camp, he began his march to meet the enemy, without properly estimating his force.

The active spirits of the place being roused

and encouraged by the presence of a considerable army, and daily flocking to the standard of their country, General Gates, by a delay of action, had much to gain in point of numbers. To the prospects of the enemy, on the contrary, delay would have been ruinous. To them there was no alternative but immediate battle and victory, or immediate retreat. Such, however, was the nature of the country, and the distance and relative position of the two armies, that to compel the Americans to action was impossible. The imprudence of the American general in hazarding an engagement at this time, is further manifested by the fact, that in troops on whose firmness he could safely rely, he was greatly inferior to his foe, they amounting to sixteen hundred veteran and highly disciplined regulars, and he having less than a thousand continentals.

General Gates having retreated to Salisbury, and thence to Hillsborough, he there succeeded in collecting around him the fragments of an army. Being soon after reinforced by several small bodies of regulars and militia, he again advanced towards the south, and took post in Charlotte. Here he continued in command until the 5th day of October, fifty days after

his defeat at Camden, when Congress passed a resolution requiring the commander-in-chief to order a court of inquiry on his conduct, as commander of the southern army, and to appoint some other officer to that command. The inquiry resulted in his acquittal; and it was the general opinion that he was not treated by Congress with that delicacy, or indeed gratitude, that was due to an officer of his acknowledged merit. He, however, received the order of his supersedure and suspension, and resigned the command to General Greene with becoming dignity, as is manifested, much to his credit, in the following order:

*"Head-quarters, Charlotte, 3d Dec, 1780.*

Parole, Springfield—countersign, Greene.

"The honourable Major-General Greene, who arrived yesterday afternoon in Charlotte, being appointed by his excellency General Washington, with the approbation of the honourable Congress, to the command of the southern army, all orders will, for the future, issue from him, and all reports are to be made to him.

"General Gates returns his sincere and grateful thanks to the southern army for their perseverance, fortitude, and patient endurance



of all the hardships and sufferings they have undergone while under his command. He anxiously hopes their misfortunes will cease therewith, and that victory, and the glorious advantages of it, may be the future portion of the southern army."

General Greene had always been, and continued to be, the firm advocate of the reputation of General Gates, particularly if he heard it assailed with asperity ; and still believed and asserted, that if there was any mistake in the conduct of Gates, it was in hazarding an action at all against such superior force ; and when informed of his appointment to supersede him, declared his confidence in his military talents, and his willingness "to serve under him."

General Gates was reinstated in his military command in the main army, in 1782 ; but the great scenes of war were now passed, and he could only participate in the painful scene of a final separation.

In the midst of his misfortune, General Gates was called to mourn the afflictive dispensation of Providence, in the death of his only son. Major Garden, in his excellent publication, has recorded the following affecting anecdote, which he received from Dr. William Reed :

“Having occasion to call on General Gates, relative to the business of the department under my immediate charge, I found him traversing the apartment which he occupied, under the influence of high excitement; his agitation was excessive—every feature of his countenance, every gesture betrayed it. Official despatches, informing him that he was superseded, and that the command of the southern army had been transferred to General Greene, had just been received and perused by him. His countenance, however, betrayed no expression of irritation or resentment; it was sensibility alone that caused his emotion. An open letter, which he held in his hand, was often raised to his lips, and kissed with devotion, while the exclamation repeatedly escaped them—‘Great man! Noble, generous procedure!’ When the tumult of his mind had subsided, and his thoughts found utterance, he, with strong expression of feeling, exclaimed, ‘I have received this day a communication from the commander-in-chief, which has conveyed more consolation to my bosom, more ineffable delight to my heart, than I had believed it possible for it ever to have felt again. With affectionate tenderness he sympathizes with me in my domestic

misfortunes, and condoles with me on the loss I have sustained by the recent death of an only son; and then with peculiar delicacy, lamenting my misfortune in battle, assures me that his confidence in my zeal and capacity is so little impaired, that the command of the right wing of the army will be bestowed on me so soon as I can make it convenient to join him.' ”

After the peace he retired to his farm in Berkley county, Virginia, where he remained until the year 1790, when he went to reside in New York, having first emancipated his slaves, and made a pecuniary provision for such as were not able to provide for themselves. Some of them would not leave him, but continued in his family.

On his arrival at New York, the freedom of the city was presented to him. In 1800 he accepted a seat in the legislature, but he retained it no longer than he conceived his services might be useful to the cause of liberty, which he never abandoned.

His political opinions did not separate him from many respectable citizens, whose views differed widely from his own. He had a handsome person, and was gentlemanly in his manners, remarkably courteous to all, and gave

indisputable marks of a social, amiable, and benevolent disposition. A few weeks before his death he closed a letter to a friend in the following words:—"I am very weak, and have evident signs of an approaching dissolution. But I have lived long enough, since I have to see a mighty people animated with a spirit to be free, and governed by transcendent abilities and honour." He died without posterity, at his abode near New York, on the 10th day of April, 1806, aged seventy-eight years.

## NATHAN HALE,

CAPTAIN IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

AFTER the unfortunate engagement on Long Island, General Washington called a council of war, who determined on an immediate retreat to New York. The intention was prudently concealed from the army, who knew not whither they were going, but imagined it was to attack the enemy. The field artillery, tents, baggage, and about nine thousand men, were conveyed to the city of New York, over the East River, more than a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not six hundred yards distant. Providence in a remarkable manner favoured the retreating army. The wind, which seemed to prevent the troops getting over at the appointed hour, afterward shifted to their wishes.

Perhaps the fate of America was never suspended by a more brittle thread than previously to this memorable retreat. A spectacle is here presented of an army destined for the defence of a great continent, driven to the narrow

borders of an island, with a victorious army double its number in front, with navigable waters in its rear; constantly liable to have its communication cut off by the enemy's navy, and every moment exposed to an attack. The presence of mind which animated the commander-in-chief in this critical situation, the prudence with which all the necessary measures were executed, redounded as much or more to his honour than the most brilliant victories. An army, to which America looked for safety, preserved; a general who was considered as an host himself, saved for the future necessities of his country. Had not, however, the circumstances of the night, of the wind and weather, been favourable, the plan, however well concerted, must have been defeated. To a good Providence, therefore, are the people of America indebted for the complete success of an enterprise so important in its consequences.

This retreat left the British in complete possession of Long Island. What would be their future operations remained uncertain. To obtain information of their situation, their strength, and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose, General Washington applied to Colonel Knowlton, who

commanded a regiment of light infantry, which formed the rear of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton communicated this request to Captain NATHAN HALE, of Connecticut, who was a captain in his regiment.

This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long Island, and examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

In his attempt to return, he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views. Sir William Howe at once gave an order to have him executed the next morning.

This order was accordingly executed in the most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused

him; a Bible, for a few moments' devotion, was not procured, although he wished it. Letters which, on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother and other friends, were destroyed; and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost-martial, "*That the rebels should not know they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness.*"

Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this as his dying observation, that "*he only lamented that he had but one life to lose for his country.*"

Although the manner of this execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war, and the practice of nations in similar cases.

It is, however, but justice to the character of Captain Hale to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different from those which generally influence others in similar circumstances. Neither expectation of promotion, nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty,



a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the general good became honourable by being necessary, were the great motives which induced him to engage in an enterprise by which his connexions lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

The fate of this unfortunate young man excites the most interesting reflections. To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings even of his enemies.

Should a comparison be drawn between Major Andre and Captain Hale, injustice would be done to the latter, should he not be placed on an equal ground with the former. While almost every historian of the American revolution has celebrated the virtues, and lamented the fate of Andre, Hale has remained unnoticed, and it is scarcely known such a character existed.

To the memory of Andre, his country has

erected the most magnificent monuments, and bestowed on his family the highest honours and most liberal rewards. To the memory of Hale, not a stone has been erected, nor an inscription to preserve his ashes from insult!

## ISAAC HAYNE,

COLONEL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

“THIS gentleman had been a distinguished and very active officer in the American service, previous to the subjugation of Charleston. When this event took place, he found himself called to a separation from his family, a dereliction of his property, and submission to the conqueror. In this situation he thought it his duty to become a voluntary prisoner, and take his parole. On surrendering himself, he offered to engage and stand bound on the principles of honour, to do nothing prejudicial to the British interest until he was exchanged ; but his abilities and services were of such consideration to his country, that he was refused a parole, and told he must become a British subject, or submit to close confinement.

“His family was then in a distant part of the country, and in great distress by sickness, and from the ravages of the royalists in their neighbourhood. Thus he seemed impelled to acknowledge himself the subject of a government he had relinquished from the purest

principles, or renounce his tenderest connexions, and leave them without a possibility of his assistance, and at a moment when he hourly expected to hear of the death of an affectionate wife, ill of the small-pox.

“In this state of anxiety, he subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the king of Great Britain, with this express exception, that he should never be required to *take arms against his country*. Notwithstanding this, he was soon and repeatedly called upon to arm in support of a government he detested, or to submit to the severest punishment. Brigadier-General Patterson, commandant of the garrison, and the intendant of the British police, a Mr. Simpson, had both assured Colonel Hayne that no such thing would be required; and added, ‘that when the royal army could not defend a country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be time to quit it.’

“Colonel Hayne considered a requisition to act in British service, after assurances that this would never be required, as a breach of contract, and a release in the eye of conscience, from any obligation on his part. Accordingly he took the first opportunity of resuming his arms as an American, assumed the command

of his own regiment; and all fond of their former commander, Colonel Hayne marched with a defensible body to the relief of his countrymen, then endeavouring to drive the British partizans, and keep them within the environs of Charleston. He very unfortunately, in a short time, fell into the hands of a strong British party, sent out for the recovery of a favourite officer, who had left the American cause, and become a devotee to the British government.

“As soon as Colonel Hayne was captured, he was closely imprisoned. This was on the twenty-sixth of July. He was notified the same day, that a court of officers would assemble the next day, to determine in what point of view he ought to be considered. On the twenty-ninth, he was informed that in consequence of a court of inquiry held the day before, Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-Colonel Balfour had resolved upon his execution within two days.

“His astonishment at these summary and illegal proceedings can scarcely be conceived. He wrote Lord Rawdon that he had no intimation of any thing more than a court of inquiry, to determine whether he should be considered

as an American or a British subject: if the first, he ought to be set at liberty on parole; if the last, he claimed a legal trial. He assured his lordship, that on a trial he had many things to urge in his defence; reasons that would be weighty in a court of equity; and concluded his letter with observing, ‘If, sir, I am refused this favour, which I cannot conceive from your justice or humanity, I earnestly entreat that my execution may be deferred, that I may at least take a last farewell of my children, and prepare for the solemn change.’

“But his death predetermined, his enemies were deaf to the voice of compassion. The execution of his sentence was hastened, though the reputation and merits of this gentleman were such, that the whole city was zealous for his preservation. Not only the inhabitants in opposition to the British government, but even Lieutenant-Governor Bull, at the head of the royalists, interceded for his life. The principal ladies of Charleston endeavoured, by their compassionate interference, to arrest or influence the relentless hand of power. They drew up and presented to Lord Rawdon, a delicate and pathetic petition in his behalf. His near relations, and his children, who had

just performed the funeral rites over the grave of a tender mother, appeared on their bended knees, to implore the life of their father. But in spite of the supplications of children and friends, strangers and foes, the flinty heart of Lord Rawdon remained untouched, amidst these scenes of sensibility and distress. No melioration of the sentence could be obtained; and this affectionate father took a final leave of his children in a manner that pierced the souls of the beholders. To the eldest of them, a youth of but thirteen years of age, he delivered a transcript of his case, directed him to convey it to Congress, and ordered him to see that his father's remains were deposited in the tomb of his ancestors.

“Pinioned like a criminal, this worthy citizen walked with composure through crowds of admiring spectators, with the dignity of the philosopher, and the intrepidity of the Christian. He suffered as a hero, and was hanged as a felon, amidst the tears of the multitude, and the curses of thousands, who execrated the perpetrators of this cruel deed.”

## CHARLES LEE,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

GENERAL LEE was an original genius, possessing the most brilliant talents, great military prowess, and extensive intelligence and knowledge of the world. He was born in Wales, his family springing from the same parent stock with the Earl of Leicester.

He may be properly called a child of Mars, for he was an officer when but eleven years old. His favourite study was the science of war, and his warmest wish was to become distinguished in it; but though possessed of a military spirit, he was ardent in the pursuit of general knowledge. He acquired a competent skill in Greek and Latin, while his fondness for travelling made him acquainted with the Italian, Spanish, German, and French languages.

In 1756, he came to America, captain of a company of grenadiers, and was present at the defeat of General Abercombie at Ticonderoga, where he received a severe wound. In 1762, he bore a colonel's commission, and served under Burgoyne in Portugal, where he greatly



distinguished himself, and received the strongest recommendations for his gallantry; but his early attachment to the American colonies, evinced in his writings against the oppressive acts of parliament, lost him the favour of the ministry. Despairing of promotion, and despising a life of inactivity, he left his native soil, and entered into the service of his Polish majesty, as one of his aids, with the rank of major-general.

His rambling disposition led him to travel all over Europe, during the years of 1771, 1772, and part of 1773, and his warmth of temper drew him into several rencounters, among which was an affair of honour with an officer in Italy. The contest was begun with swords, when the general lost two of his fingers. Recourse was then had to pistols. His adversary was slain, and he was obliged to flee from the country, in order that he might avoid the unpleasant circumstances which might result from this unhappy circumstance.

General Lee appeared to be influenced by an innate principle of republicanism; an attachment to these principles was implanted in the constitution of his mind, and he espoused

the cause of America as a champion of her emancipation from oppression.

Glowing with these sentiments, he embarked for this country, and arrived at New York on the 10th of November, 1773. On his arrival he became daily more enthusiastic in the cause of liberty, and travelled rapidly through the colonies, animating, both by conversation and his eloquent pen, to a determined and persevering resistance to British tyranny.

His enthusiasm in favour of the rights of the colonies was such, that, after the battle of Lexington, he accepted a major-general's commission in the American army; though his ambition had pointed out to him the post of commander-in-chief as the object of his wishes. Previous to this, however, he resigned his commission in the British service, and relinquished his half-pay. This he did in a letter to the British secretary at war, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the oppressive measures of parliament, declaring them to be absolutely subversive of the rights and liberties of every individual subject, so destructive to the whole empire at large, and ultimately so ruinous to his majesty's own person, dignity, and family, that he thought himself obliged in conscience,

as a citizen, Englishman, and soldier of a free state, to exert his utmost to defeat them.

Immediately upon receiving his appointment, he accompanied General Washington to the camp at Cambridge, where he arrived July 2d, 1775, and was received with every mark of respect.

As soon as it was discovered at Cambridge that the British General Clinton had left Boston, General Lee was ordered to set forward, to observe his manœuvres, and prepare to meet him in any part of the continent he might visit. No man was better qualified, at this early stage of the war, to penetrate the designs of the enemy, than Lee. Nursed in the camp, and well versed in European tactics, the soldiers believed him, of all other officers, the best able to face in the field an experienced British veteran, and lead them on to victory.

New York was supposed to be the object of the enemy, and hither he hastened with all possible expedition. Immediately on his arrival, Lee took the most active and prompt measures to put it in a state of defence. He disarmed all suspected persons within the reach of his command, and proceeded with such rigour against the tories, as to give alarm at his

assumption of military powers. From the tories he exacted a strong oath, and his bold measures carried terror wherever he appeared.

“Not long after he was appointed to the command of the southern department, and in his travels through the country, he received every testimony of high respect from the people. General Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Peter Parker, with a powerful fleet and army, attempted the reduction of Charleston while he was in command. The fleet anchored within half musket-shot of the fort on Sullivan’s Island, where Col. Moultrie, one of the bravest and most intrepid of men, commanded. A tremendous engagement ensued on the 28th of June, 1776, which lasted twelve hours without intermission. The whole British force was completely repulsed, after suffering an irreparable loss.

“General Lee and Colonel Moultrie received the thanks of Congress for their signal bravery and gallantry.

“Our hero had now reached the pinnacle of his military glory ; the eclat of his name alone appeared to enchant and animate the most desponding heart. But here we pause to contemplate the humiliating reverse of human

events. He returned to the main army in October; and in marching at the head of a large detachment through the Jerseys, having, from a desire of retaining a separate command, delayed his march several days, in disobedience of express orders from the commander-in-chief, he was guilty of most culpable negligence in regard to his personal security. He took up his quarters two or three miles from the main body, and lay for the night, December 13th, 1776, in a careless, exposed situation. Information of this being communicated to Colonel Harcourt, who commanded the British light-horse, he proceeded immediately to the house, fired into it, and obliged the general to surrender himself a prisoner. They mounted him on a horse in haste, without his cloak or hat, and conveyed him in triumph to New York."

Lee was treated, while a prisoner, with great severity by the enemy, who affected to consider him as a state prisoner and deserter from the service of his Britannic majesty, and denied the privileges of an American officer. General Washington promptly retaliated the treatment received by Lee upon the British officers in his possession. This state of things

existed until the capture of Burgoyne, when a complete change of treatment was observed towards Lee; and he was shortly afterward exchanged.

The first military act of General Lee after his exchange, closed his career in the American army. Previous to the battle of Monmouth, his character in general was respectable. From the beginning of the contest, his unremitted zeal in the cause of America excited and directed the military spirit of the whole continent; and his conversation inculcated the principles of liberty among all ranks of the people.

His important services excited the warm gratitude of many of the friends of America. Hence it is said that a strong party was formed in Congress, and by some discontented officers in the army, to raise Lee to the first command: and it has been suggested by many, that General Lee's conduct at the battle of Monmouth was intended to effect this plan: for could the odium of the defeat have been at this time thrown on General Washington, there is great reason to suppose that he would have been deprived of his command.

It is now to be seen how General Lee termi-

nated his military career. In the battle of Monmouth, on the 28th of June, 1778, he commanded the van of the American troops, with orders from the commander-in-chief to attack the retreating enemy. Instead of obeying this order, he conducted in an unworthy manner, and greatly disconcerted the arrangements of the day. Washington, advancing to the field of battle, met him in his disorderly retreat, and accosted him with strong expressions of disapprobation. Lee, incapable of brooking even an implied indignity, and unable to restrain the warmth of his resentment, used improper language in return, and some irritation was excited on both sides. The following letters immediately after passed between Lee and the commander-in-chief :

*Camp, English-Town, 1st July, 1778.*

SIR—From the knowledge that I have of your excellency's character, I must conclude that nothing but the misinformation of some very stupid, or misrepresentation of some very wicked person, could have occasioned your making use of such very singular expressions as you did, on my coming up to the ground where you had taken post : they implied that

I was guilty either of disobedience of orders, want of conduct, or want of courage. Your excellency will, therefore, infinitely oblige me by letting me know on which of these three articles you ground your charge, that I may prepare for my justification; which I have the happiness to be confident I can do to the army, to the Congress, to America, and to the world in general. Your excellency must give me leave to observe, that neither yourself, nor those about your person, could, from your situation, be in the least judges of the merits or demerits of our manœuvres; and, to speak with a becoming pride, I can assert that to these manœuvres the success of the day was entirely owing. I can boldly say, that had we remained on the first ground—or had we advanced—or had the retreat been conducted in a manner different from what it was, this whole army, and the interests of America, would have risked being sacrificed. I ever had, and I hope ever shall have, the greatest respect and veneration for General Washington; I think him endowed with many great and good qualities; but in this instance I must pronounce, that he has been guilty of an act of cruel injustice towards a man who had certainly some pretensions to the



regard of every servant of his country ; and I think, sir, I have a right to demand some reparation for the injury committed ; and unless I can obtain it, I must, in justice to myself, when the campaign is closed, which I believe will close the war, retire from a service, at the head of which is placed a man capable of offering such injuries ;—but at the same time, in justice to you, I must repeat that I, from my soul, believe that it was not a motion of your own breast, but instigated by some of those dirty earwigs, who will for ever insinuate themselves near persons in high office ; for I am really assured that, when General Washington acts from himself, no man in his army will have reason to complain of injustice and indecorum.

I am, sir, and I hope ever shall have reason to continue,

Yours, &c.

CHARLES LEE.

*His excellency General Washington.*

*Head-quarters, English-Town, June 28, 1778.*

SIR—I received your letter, dated through mistake the 1st of July, expressed, as I conceive, in terms highly improper. I am not conscious of having made use of any singular expressions

at the time of my meeting you, as you intimate. What I recollect to have said was dictated by duty, and warranted by the occasion. As soon as circumstances will admit, you shall have an opportunity, either of justifying yourself to the army, to Congress, to America, and to the world in general, or of convincing them that you are guilty of a breach of orders, and of misbehaviour before the enemy on the 28th instant, in not attacking them as you had been directed, and in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

A court-martial, of which Lord Stirling was president, was ordered for his trial, and after a masterly defence by General Lee, found him guilty of all the charges, and sentenced him to be suspended from any command in the army for the term of twelve months. This sentence was shortly afterward confirmed by Congress.

When promulgated, it was like a mortal wound to the lofty, aspiring spirit of General Lee; pointing to his dog, he exclaimed—"Oh that I was that animal, that I might not call **man** my brother." He became outrageous, and

from that moment he was more open and virulent in his attack on the character of the commander-in-chief, and did not cease in his unwearied endeavours, both in his conversation and writings, to lessen his reputation in the estimation of the army and the public. He was an active abettor of General Conway in his calumny and abuse of General Washington, and they were believed to be in concert in their vile attempts to supersede his excellency in the supreme command. With the hope of effecting his nefarious purpose, he published a pamphlet replete with scurrilous imputations unfavourable to the military talents of the commander-in-chief, but this, with his other malignant allegations, was consigned to contempt.

At length Colonel Laurens, one of General Washington's aids, unable longer to suffer this gross abuse of his illustrious friend, demanded of Lee that satisfaction which custom has sanctioned as honourable. A rencounter accordingly ensued, and Lee received a wound in his side.

Lee now finding himself abandoned by his friends, degraded in the eye of the public, and despised by the wise and virtuous, retired to his sequestered plantation in Virginia. In this

spot, secluded from all society, he lived in a sort of hovel, without glass windows or plastering, or even a decent article of house furniture; here he amused himself with his books and dogs. On January 10th, 1780, Congress resolved that Major-General Lee be informed that they have no further occasion for his services in the army of the United States. In the autumn of 1782, wearied with his forlorn situation and broken spirit, he resorted to Philadelphia, and took lodgings in an ordinary tavern. He was soon seized with a disease of the lungs, and after a few days' confinement, he terminated his mortal course, a martyr to chagrin and disappointment, October 2d, 1782. The last words which he was heard to utter were, "stand by me, my brave grenadiers."

General Lee was rather above the middle size, "plain in his person even to ugliness, and careless in his manners even to a degree of rudeness: his nose was so remarkably aquiline, that it appeared as a real deformity. His voice was rough, his garb ordinary, his deportment morose. He was ambitious of fame, without the dignity to support it. In private life he sunk into the vulgarity of the clown." His remarkable partiality for dogs was such, that a

number of these animals constantly followed in his train, and the ladies complained that he allowed his *canine adherents* to follow him into the parlour, and not unfrequently a favourite one might be seen on a chair next his elbow at table.

In the year 1776, when our army lay at White-Plains, Lee resided near the road which General Washington frequently passed, and he one day with his aids called and took dinner. After they had departed, Lee said to his aids, "You must look me out other quarters, or I shall have Washington and his puppies calling till they eat me up." The next day he ordered his servants to write with chalk on the door, "No victuals cooked here to-day." The company seeing the hint on the door, passed, with a smile at the oddity of the man. "The character of this person," says one who knew him well, "is full of absurdities and qualities of a most extraordinary nature."

While in Philadelphia, shortly before his death, the following ludicrous circumstance took place, which created no small diversion.

The late Judge Brackenridge, whose poignancy of satire and eccentricity of character were nearly a match for that of the general,

had dipped his pen in some gall, which greatly irritated Lee's feelings, insomuch that he challenged him to single combat, which Brackenridge declined in a very eccentric reply. Lee having furnished himself with a horsewhip, determined to chastise him ignominiously on the very first opportunity. Observing Brackenridge going down Market street a few days after, he gave him chase, and Brackenridge took refuge in a public house, and barricaded the door of the room he entered. A number of persons collected to see the result. Lee damned him, and invited him to come out and fight him like a man. Brackenridge replied, that he did not like to be shot at, and made some other curious observations, which only increased Lee's irritation, and the mirth of the spectators. Lee, with the most bitter imprecation, ordered him to come out, when he said he would horsewhip him. Brackenridge replied, that he had no occasion for a discipline of that kind. The amusing scene lasted some time, until at length Lee, finding that he could accomplish no other object than calling forth Brackenridge's wit for the amusement of the bystanders, retired.

General Lee was master of a most genteel

address, but was rude in his manners, and excessively negligent in his appearance and behaviour. His appetite was so whimsical, that he was every where a most troublesome guest. Two or three dogs usually followed him wherever he went. As an officer, he was brave and able, and did much towards disciplining the American army. With vigorous powers of mind and a brilliant fancy, he was a correct and elegant classical scholar, and he both wrote and spoke his native language with propriety, force, and beauty. His temper was severe; the history of his life is little else than the history of disputes, quarrels, and duels, in every part of the world. He was vindictive, avaricious, immoral, impious, and profane. His principles, as would be expected from his character, were most abandoned, and he ridiculed every tenet of religion. Two virtues he possessed to an eminent degree, sincerity and veracity. It was notorious that General Lee was a man of unbounded personal ambition; and, conscious of his European education, and pre-eminent military talents and prowess, he effected a superiority over General Washington, and constantly aimed at the supreme command, little scrupu

lous as to the means employed to accomplish his own advancement.

The following is an extract from General Lee's will.

“ I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting house ; for since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company while living, that I do not choose to continue it while dead.”



## JOHN SULLIVAN,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

GENERAL SULLIVAN was a native of New Hampshire, where he resided before the revolution, and attained to a high degree of eminence in the profession of the law. He was a member of the first Congress, in 1774; but on the commencement of hostilities, preferring a military commission, he relinquished the fairest prospects of fortune and fame, and appeared among the most ardent patriots and intrepid warriors.

“In 1775, he was appointed a brigadier general, and immediately joined the army at Cambridge, and soon after obtained the command on Winter Hill. The next year he was ordered to Canada, and, on the death of General Thomas, the command of the army devolved on him. The situation of our army in that quarter was inexpressibly distressing; destitute of clothing, dispirited by defeat and constant fatigue, and a large proportion of the troops sick with the small-pox. By his great exertions and judicious management, he meli-

orated the condition of the army, and obtained general applause. On his retiring from that command July 12th, 1776, the field-officers thus addressed him: 'It is to you, sir, the public are indebted for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear and the grateful ejaculation of the sick. Your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier.'

"In August, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and soon after was, with Major-General Lord Stirling, captured by the British in the battle on Long Island. General Sullivan being paroled, was sent by General Howe with a message to Congress, after which he returned to New York. In September he was exchanged for Major General Prescott. We next find him in command of the right division of our troops, in the famous battle at Trenton, and he acquitted himself honourably on that ever memorable day.

"In August, 1777, without the authority of Congress, or the commander-in-chief, he planned and executed an expedition against the

enemy on Staten Island. Though the enterprise was conducted with prudence and success, in part, it was said by some to have been less brilliant than might have been expected under his favourable circumstances; and as that act was deemed a bold assumption of responsibility, and reports to his prejudice being in circulation, a court of inquiry was ordered to investigate his conduct. The result was an honourable acquittal; and Congress resolved, that the result, so honourable to General Sullivan, is highly pleasing to Congress, and that the opinion of the court be published, in justification of that injured officer.

“In the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, in the autumn of 1777, General Sullivan commanded a division, and in the latter conflict his two aids were killed, and his own conduct was so conspicuously brave, that General Washington, in his letter to Congress, concludes with encomiums on the gallantry of General Sullivan, and the whole right wing of the army, who acted immediately under the eye of his excellency.

“In August, 1778, General Sullivan, was sole commander of an expedition to the Island of Newport, in co-operation with the French

fleet under the Count D'Estaing. The Marquis de la Fayette and General Greene volunteered their services on the occasion. The object of the expedition was defeated, in consequence of the French fleet being driven off by a violent storm. By this unfortunate event, the enemy were encouraged to engage our army in battle, in which they suffered a repulse, and General Sullivan finally effected a safe retreat to the main. This retreat, so ably executed, without confusion or the loss of baggage or stores, increased the military reputation of General Sullivan, and redounds to his honour as a skilful commander.

“The bloody tragedy acted at Wyoming, in 1778, had determined the commander-in-chief, in 1779, to employ a large detachment from the continental army to penetrate into the heart of the Indian country, to chastise the hostile tribes and their white associates and adherents, for their cruel aggressions on the defenceless inhabitants. The command of this expedition was committed to Major-General Sullivan, with express orders to destroy their settlements, to ruin their crops, and make such thorough devastations as to render the country entirely uninhabitable for the present, and thus

to compel the savages to remove to a greater distance from our frontiers.

“General Sullivan had under his command several brigadiers, and a well chosen army, to which were attached a number of friendly Indian warriors. With this force he penetrated about ninety miles, through a horrid swampy wilderness and barren mountainous deserts, to Wyoming, on the Susquehanna river, thence by water to Tioga, and possessed himself of numerous towns and villages of the savages.

“During this hazardous expedition General Sullivan and his army encountered the most complicated obstacles, requiring the greatest fortitude and perseverance to surmount. He explored an extensive tract of country, and strictly executed the severe, but necessary orders he had received. A considerable number of Indians were slain, some were captured, their habitations were burnt, and their plantations of corn and vegetables laid waste in the most effectual manner. ‘Eighteen villages, a number of detached buildings, one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, and those fruits and vegetables which conduce to the comfort and subsistence of man, were utterly

destroyed. Five weeks were unremittingly employed in this work of devastation.'

"On his return from the expedition, he and his army received the approbation of Congress. It is remarked on this expedition, by the translator of M. Chastelleux's travels, an Englishman, then resident in the United States, that the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to his troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honour to the most experienced ancient or modern generals.

"At the close of the campaign of 1779, General Sullivan, in consequence of impaired health, resigned his commission in the army. Congress, in accepting his resignation, passed a resolve, thanking him for his past services. His military talents and bold spirit of enterprise were universally acknowledged. He was fond of display, and his personal appearance and dignified deportment commanded respect. After his resignation, he resumed his professional pursuits at the bar, and was much distinguished as a statesman, politician, and patriot. He acquired very considerable proficiency in general literature, and an exten-

sive knowledge of men and the world. He received from Harvard University a degree of master of arts, and from the University of Dartmouth a degree of doctor of laws. He was one of the convention who formed the state constitution for New Hampshire, was chosen into the first council, and was afterwards elected chief magistrate in that state, and held the office for three years. In September, 1789, he was appointed judge of the district court for the district of New Hampshire, and continued in the office till his death, in 1795."

## JOSEPH WARREN,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

“JOSEPH WARREN was born in Roxbury, near Boston, in the year 1741. His father was a respectable farmer in that place, who had held several municipal offices, to the acceptance of his fellow citizens. Joseph, with several of his brothers, was instructed in the elementary branches of knowledge, at the public grammar-school of the town, which was distinguished for its successive instructors of superior attainments. In 1755, he entered college, where he sustained the character of a youth of talents, fine manners, and of a generous independent deportment, united to great personal courage and perseverance. An anecdote will illustrate his fearlessness and determination at that age, when character can hardly be said to be formed. Several students of Warren’s class shut themselves in a room to arrange some college affairs, in a way which they knew was contrary to his wishes, and barred the door so effectually, that he could not without great violence force it: but he did



not give over the attempt of getting among them; for perceiving that the window of the room in which they were assembled was open, and near a spout which extended from the roof of the building to the ground, he went to the top of the house, slid down to the eaves, seized the spout, and when he had descended as far as the window, threw himself into the chamber among them. At that instant the spout, which was decayed and weak, gave way, and fell to the ground. He looked at it without emotion, said that it had served his purpose, and began to take his part in the business. A spectator of this feat and narrow escape, related this fact to me in the college-yard, nearly half a century afterward; and the impression it made on his mind was so strong, that he seemed to feel the same emotion as though it had happened but an hour before.

“On leaving college, in 1759, Warren turned his attention to the study of medicine, under the direction of Doctor Lloyd, an eminent physician of that day, whose valuable life has been protracted almost to the present time. Warren was distinguished very soon after he commenced practice; for when, in  
18\*

1764, the small-pox spread in Boston, he was among the most successful in his method of treating that disease, which was then considered the most dreadful scourge of the human race ; and the violence of which had baffled the efforts of the learned faculty of medicine from the time of its first appearance. From this moment he stood high among his brethren, and was the favourite of the people ; and what he gained in their good-will he never lost. His personal appearance, his address, his courtesy, and his humanity, won the way to the hearts of all ; and his knowledge and superiority of talents secured the conquest. A bright and lasting fame in his profession, with the attendant consequences, wealth and influence, were within his reach, and near at hand : but the calls of a distracted country were paramount to every consideration of his own interests, and he entered the vortex of politics, never to return to the peaceful course of professional labour.

“The change in public opinion had been gradually preparing the minds of most men for a revolution. This was not openly avowed : amelioration of treatment for the present, and assurances of kindness in future, were all

that the colonies asked from Great Britain— but these they did not receive. The mother country mistook the spirit of her children, and used threats when kindness would have been the best policy. When Britain declared her right to direct, govern, and tax us in any form, and at all times, the colonies reasoned, remonstrated, and entreated for a while; and when these means did not answer, they defied and resisted. The political writers of the province had been active and busy, but they were generally screened by fictitious names, or sent their productions anonymously into the world; but the time had arrived, when speakers of nerve and boldness were wanted to raise their voices against oppression in every shape. Warren possessed first rate qualities for an orator, and had early declared in the strongest terms his political sentiments, which were somewhat in advance of public opinion; for he held as tyranny all taxation which could be imposed by the British parliament upon the colonies. In times of danger, the people are sagacious, and cling to those who best can serve them; and every eye was on him in every emergency; for he had not only the firmness and decision they wished for in a leader, but was prudent

and wary in all his plans. His first object was to enlighten the people ; and then he felt sure of engaging their feelings in the general cause. He knew, when once they began, it would be impossible to tread back—independence only would satisfy the country. With an intention of directing public sentiment, without appearing to be too active, he met frequently with a considerable number of substantial mechanics, and others in the middling classes of society, who were busy in politics. This crisis required such a man as they found him to be ; one who could discern the signs of the times, and mould the ductile materials to his will, and at the same time seem only to follow in the path of others. His letter to Barnard, which attracted the notice of government, had been written several years before, in 1768 ; but in some form or other he was constantly enlightening the people by his pen : but it is now difficult, and of no great importance, to trace him in the papers of that period. The public was not then always right in designating the authors of political essays. In the different situations in which he was called to act, he assumed as many characters as fable has ever given to the tutelar god of his pro-

fession, and like him, in every one of them, he retained the wisdom to guide and the power to charm. At one time he might be found restraining the impetuosity, and bridling the fury of those hot-headed politicians who felt more than they reasoned, and dared to do more than became men. Such was his versatility, that he turned from these lectures of caution and prudence, to asserting and defending the most bold and undisguised principles of liberty, and defying, in their very teeth, the agents of the crown. Twice he was elected to deliver the oration on the 5th of March, in commemoration of the *massacre*; and his orations are among the most distinguished produced by that splendid list of speakers who addressed their fellow citizens on this subject, so interesting to them all. In these productions generally, the immediate causes of this event were overlooked, and the remote ones alone were discussed. Here they were on safe ground; for tyranny, in its incipient stages, has no excuses from opposition; but in its march, it generally finds some plausible arguments for its proceedings, drawn from the very resistance it naturally produces. These occasions gave the orators a fine field for remark, and a fair oppor-

tunity for effect. The great orators of antiquity, in their speeches, attempted only to rouse the people to retain what they possessed. Invective, entreaty, and pride, had their effect in assisting those mighty masters to influence the people. They were ashamed to lose what their fathers left them, won by their blood, and so long preserved by their wisdom, their virtues, and their courage. Our statesmen had a harder task to perform; for they were compelled to call on the people to gain what they had never enjoyed—an independent rank and standing among the nations of the world.

“His next oration was delivered March 6th, 1775. It was at his own solicitation that he was appointed to this duty a second time. The fact is illustrative of his character, and worthy of remembrance. Some British officers of the army then in Boston, had publicly declared that it should be at the price of the life of any man to speak of the event of March 5th, 1770, on that anniversary. Warren’s soul took fire at such a threat, so openly made, and he wished for the honour of braving it. This was readily granted: for at such a time a man would probably find but few rivals. Many who would spurn the thought of personal fear,

might be apprehensive that they would be so far disconcerted as to forget their discourse. It is easier to fight bravely, than to think clearly or correctly in danger. Passion sometimes nerves the arm to fight, but disturbs the regular current of thought. The day came, and the weather was remarkably fine. The Old South Meeting House was crowded at an early hour. The British officers occupied the aisles, the flight of steps to the pulpit, and several of them were within it. It was not precisely known whether this was accident or design. The orator, with the assistance of his friends, made his entrance at the pulpit window by a ladder. The officers seeing his coolness and intrepidity, made way for him to advance and address the audience. An awful stillness preceded his exordium. Each man felt the palpitations of his own heart, and saw the pale but determined face of his neighbour. The speaker began his oration in a firm tone of voice, and proceeded with great energy and pathos. Warren and his friends were prepared to chastise contumely, prevent disgrace, and avenge an attempt at assassination.

“The scene was sublime; a patriot, in whom the flush of youth and the grace and

dignity of manhood were combined, stood armed in the sanctuary of God, to animate and encourage the sons of liberty, and to hurl defiance at their oppressors. The orator commenced with the early history of the country, described the tenure by which we held our liberties and property—the affection we had constantly shown the parent country, and boldly told them how, and by whom these blessings of life had been violated. There was in this appeal to Britain—in this description of suffering, agony, and horror, a calm and high-souled defiance which must have chilled the blood of every sensible foe. Such another hour has seldom happened in the history of man, and is not surpassed in the records of nations. The thunders of Demosthenes rolled at a distance from Philip and his host—and Tully poured the fiercest torrent of his invective when Cataline was at a distance, and his dagger no longer to be feared: but Warren's speech was made to proud oppressors, resting on their arms, whose errand it was to overawe, and whose business it was to fight.

“If the deed of Brutus deserved to be commemorated by history, poetry, painting, and sculpture, should not this instance of patriotism



and bravery be held in lasting remembrance?  
If he

‘That struck the foremost man of all this world,’

was hailed as the first of freeman, what honours are not due to him, who undismayed bearded the British lion, to show the world what his countrymen dared to do in the cause of liberty? If the statue of Brutus was placed among those of the gods who were the preservers of Roman freedom, should not that of Warren fill a lofty niche in the temple reared to perpetuate the remembrance of our birth as a nation?

“If independence was not at first openly avowed by our leading men at that time, the hope of attaining it was fondly cherished, and the exertions of the patriots pointed to this end. The wise knew that the storm which the political Prosperos were raising, would pass away in blood. With these impressions on his mind, Warren for several years was preparing himself by study and observation, to take a conspicuous rank in the military arrangements which he knew must ensue.

“On the 18th of April, 1775, by his agents in Boston, he discovered the design of the

British commander to sieze or destroy our few stores at Concord. He instantly despatched several confidential messengers to Lexington. The late venerable patriot, Paul Revere, was one of them. This gentleman has given a very interesting account of the difficulties he encountered in the discharge of this duty. The alarm was given, and the militia, burning with resentment, were, at day-break on the 19th, on the road to repel insult and aggression. The drama was opened about sunrise, within a few yards of the house of God, in Lexington. Warren hastened to the field of action, in the full ardour of his soul, and shared the dangers of the day. While pressing on the enemy, a musket-ball took off a lock of his hair close to his ear. The lock was rolled and pinned, after the fashion of that day, and considerable force must have been necessary to have cut it away. The people were delighted with his cool, collected bravery, and already considered him as a leader, whose gallantry they were to admire, and in whose talents they were to confide. On the 14th of June, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts made him a major-general of their forces; but previous to the date of his commission, he had

been unceasing in his exertions to maintain order and enforce discipline among the troops, which had hastily assembled at Cambridge, after the battle of Lexington. He mingled in the ranks, and by every method and argument strove to inspire them with confidence, and succeeded in a most wonderful manner in imparting to them a portion of the flame which glowed in his own breast. At such a crisis genius receives its birth-right—the homage of inferior minds, who, for self-preservation, are willing to be directed. Previous to receiving the appointment of major-general, he had been requested to take the office of physician-general to the army, but he chose to be where wounds were to be made, rather than where they were to be healed. Yet he lent his aid and advice to the medical department of the army, and was of great service to them in their organization and arrangements.

“He was at this time president of the Provincial Congress, having been elected, the preceding year, a member from the town of Boston. In this body he discovered his extraordinary powers of mind, and his peculiar fitness for responsible offices at such a juncture.

Cautious in proposing measures, he was assiduous in pursuing what he thought, after mature deliberation, to be right, and never counted the probable cost of a measure, when he had decided that it was necessary to be taken. When this Congress, which was sitting at Watertown, adjourned for the day, he mounted his horse and hastened to the camp. Every day 'he bought golden opinions of all sorts of men;' and when the troops were called to act on Breed's Hill, he had so often been among them, that his person was known to most of the soldiers.

"Several respectable historians have fallen into some errors in describing the battle in which he fell, by giving the command of the troops on that day to Warren, when he was only a volunteer in the fight. He did not arrive on the battle-ground until the enemy had commenced their movements for the attack. As soon as he made his appearance on the field, the veteran commander of the day, Colonel Prescott, desired to act under his directions; but Warren declined taking any other part than that of a volunteer, and added, that he came to learn the art of war from an experienced soldier, whose orders he should be

happy to obey. In the battle he was armed with a musket, and stood in the ranks, now and then changing his place, to encourage his fellow-soldiers by words and by example. He undoubtedly, from the state of hostilities, expected soon to act in his high military capacity, and it was indispensable, according to his views, that he should share the dangers of the field as a common soldier with his fellow-citizens, that his reputation for bravery might be put beyond the possibility of suspicion. The wisdom of such a course would never have been doubted, if he had returned in safety from the fight. In such a struggle for independence, the ordinary rules of prudence and caution could not govern those who were building up their names for future usefulness by present exertion. Some maxims drawn from the republican writers of antiquity, were worn as their mottos. Some precepts descriptive of the charms of liberty, were ever on their tongues; and some classical model of Greek or Roman patriotism was constantly in their minds. Instances of great men mixing in the rank of common soldiers, were to be found in ancient times, when men fought for their altars and their homes. The

cases were parallel, and the examples were imposing. When the battle was decided, and our people fled, Warren was one of the last who left the breastwork, and was slain within a few yards of it, as he was slowly retiring. He probably felt mortified at the event of the day ; but had he known how dearly the victory was purchased, and how little honour was gained by those who won it, his heart would have been at rest. Like the band of Leonidas, the vanquished have received, by the judgment of nations, from which there is no appeal, the imperishable laurels of victors. His death brought a sickness to the heart of the community, and the people mourned his fall, not with the convulsive agony of a betrothed virgin over the bleeding corpse of her lover—but with the pride of the Spartan mother, who, in the intensity of her grief, smiled to see that the wounds whence life had flown, were on the breast of her son—and was satisfied that he had died in defence of his country. The worth of the victim, and the horror of the sacrifice, gave a higher value to our liberties, and produced a more fixed determination to preserve them.

“The battle of Bunker’s Hill has often been

described, and of late its minutest details given to the public; but never was the military, moral, and political character of that great event more forcibly drawn, than in the following extract from the *North American Review*, for July, 1818:

‘The incidents and the result of the battle itself, were most important, and indeed most wonderful. As a mere battle, few surpass it in whatever engages and interests the attention. It was fought on a conspicuous eminence, in the immediate neighbourhood of a populous city; and consequently in the view of thousands of spectators. The attacking army moved over a sheet of water to the assault. The operations and movements were of course all visible and all distinct. Those who looked on from the houses and heights of Boston had a fuller view of every important operation and event, than can ordinarily be had of any battle or that can possibly be had of such as are fought on a more extended ground, or by detachments of troops acting in different places, and at different times, and in some measure independently of each other. When the British columns were advancing to the attack, the flames of Charlestown, (fired, as is

generally supposed, by a shell,) began to ascend. The spectators, far outnumbering both armies, thronged and crowded on every height and every point which afforded a view of the scene, themselves constituting a very important part of it.

‘The troops of the two armies seemed like so many combatants in an amphitheatre. The manner in which they should acquit themselves was to be judged of, not as in other cases of military engagements, by reports and future history, but by a vast and anxious assembly already on the spot, and waiting with unspeakable concern and emotion the progress of the day.

‘In other battles, the *recollection* of wives and children has been used as an excitement to animate the warrior’s breast, and nerve his arm. Here was not a mere recollection, but an actual *presence* of them and other dear connexions, hanging on the skirts of the battle, anxious and agitated, feeling almost as if wounded themselves by every blow of the enemy, and putting forth, as it were, their own strength, and all the energy of their own throbbing bosoms, into every gallant effort of their warring friends.



‘But there was a more comprehensive, and vastly more important view of that day’s contest, than has been mentioned; a view, indeed, which ordinary eyes, bent intently on what was immediately before them, did not embrace, but which was perceived in its full extent and expansion by minds of a higher order. Those men who were at the head of the colonial councils, who had been engaged for years in the previous stages of the quarrel with England, and who had been accustomed to look forward to the future, were well apprised of the magnitude of the events likely to hang on the business of that day. They saw in it not only a battle, but the beginning of a civil war, of unmeasured extent and uncertain issue. All America, and all England, were likely to be deeply concerned in the consequences. The individuals themselves, who knew full well what agency they had had in bringing affairs to this crisis, had need of all their courage: not that disregard of personal safety, in which the vulgar suppose true courage to consist, but that high and fixed moral sentiment, that steady and decided purpose, which enables men to pursue a distant end with a full view of the difficulties and dangers before

them, and with a conviction that, before they arrive at the proposed end, should they ever reach it, they must pass through evil report as well as good report, and be liable to obloquy as well as to defeat.

‘Spirits that fear nothing else, fear disgrace ; and this danger is necessarily encountered by those who engage in civil war. Unsuccessful resistance is not only ruin to its authors, but is esteemed, and necessarily so, by the laws of all countries, treasonable. This is the case, at least till resistance becomes so general and formidable as to assume the form of regular war. But who can tell, when resistance commences, whether it will attain even to that degree of success ? Some of those persons who signed the Declaration of Independence, in 1777, described themselves as signing it, ‘as with halts about their necks.’ If there were grounds for this remark in 1776, when the cause had become so much more general, how much greater was the hazard when the battle of Bunker-Hill was fought !

‘These considerations constituted, to enlarged and liberal minds, the moral sublimity of the occasion ; while, to the outward senses, the movement of armies, the roar of artillery,

the brilliancy of the reflection of a summer's sun from the burnished armour of the British columns, and the flames of a burning town, made up a scene of extraordinary grandeur.'

"This eminence has become sacred ground. It contains in its bosom the ashes of the brave who died fighting to defend their altars and their homes. Strangers from all countries visit this spot, for it is associated in their memories with Marathon and Plataea, and all the mighty struggles of determined freemen. Our citizens love to wander over this field—they agreed to awake recollections, and the youthful to excite heroic emotions. The battle-ground is now all plainly to be seen—the spirit of modern improvement, which would stop the streams of Helicon to turn a mill, and caused to be felled the trees of Paradise to make a rafter, has yet spared this hallowed height.

"If 'the days of chivalry be gone for ever,' and the high and enthusiastic feelings of generosity and magnanimity be not so widely diffused as in more heroic ages, yet it cannot be denied but that there have been, and still are, individuals whose bosoms are warmed with a spirit as glowing and ethereal as ever swelled

the heart of 'mailed knight,' who, in the ecstasies of love, religion, and martial glory, joined the war-cry on the plains of Palestine, or proved his steel on the infidel foe. The history of every revolution is interspersed with brilliant episodes of individual prowess. The pages of our own history, when fully written out, will sparkle profusely with these gems of romantic valour.

"The calmness and indifference of the veteran 'in clouds of dust, and seas of blood,' can only be acquired by long acquaintance with the trade of death; but the heights of Charlestown will bear eternal testimony how suddenly, in the cause of freedom, the peaceful citizen can become the invincible warrior—stung by oppression, he springs forward from his tranquil pursuits, undaunted by opposition, and undismayed by danger, to fight even to death for the defence of his rights. Parents, wives, children, and country, all the hallowed properties of existence, are to him the talisman that takes fear from his heart, and nerves his arm to victory.

"In the requiem over those who have fallen in the cause of their country, which

‘Time with his own eternal lips shall sing,’

the praises of WARREN shall be distinctly heard. The blood of those patriots who have fallen in the defence of republics, has often ‘cried from the ground’ against the ingratitude of the country for which it was shed. No monument was reared to their fame; no record of their virtues written; no fostering hand extended to their offspring—but they and their deeds were neglected and forgotten. Toward Warren there was no ingratitude—our country is free from this stain. Congress were the guardians of his honour, and remembered that his children were unprotected orphans. Within a year after his death Congress passed the following resolutions:

“That a monument be erected to the memory of General Warren, in the town of Boston, with the following inscription:

IN HONOUR OF  
JOSEPH WARREN,  
Major-General, of Massachusetts-Bay.  
He devoted his Life to the  
Liberties of his Country,  
and, in bravely defending them,  
fell an early Victim in the

BATTLE OF BUNKER-HILL,

June 17, 1775.

The Congress of the United States,  
as an acknowledgment of his  
Services and distinguished  
Merit, have erected this  
Monument to his  
memory.

“It was resolved, likewise, ‘that the eldest son of General Warren should be educated, from that time, at the expense of the United States.’ On the 1st of July, 1780, Congress, recognising these former resolutions, further resolved, ‘That it should be recommended to the executive of Massachusetts-Bay to make provision for the maintenance and education of his three younger children. And that Congress would defray the expense to the amount of the half-pay of a major-general, to commence at the time of his death, and continue till the youngest of the children should be of age.’ The part of the resolutions relating to the education of the children, was carried into effect accordingly. The monument is not yet erected, but it is not too late.”

## JOHN LAURENS,

COLONEL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY,

“Son of Henry Laurens, was born in Charleston, in 1755. In youth he discovered that energy of character which distinguished him through life. When a lad, though labouring under a fever, on the cry of fire, he leaped from his bed, hastened to the scene of danger, and was in a few minutes on the top of the exposed houses, risking his life to arrest the progress of the flames. This is the more worthy of notice, for precisely in the same way, and under a similar, but higher impulse of ardent patriotism, he lost his life in the year 1782.

“At the age of sixteen he was taken to Europe by his father, and there put under the best means of instruction in Geneva, and afterward in London.

“He was entered a student of law at the temple in 1774, and was daily improving in legal knowledge till the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies arrested his attention. He soon found that the claims of the mother country struck at the root of

liberty in the colonies, and that she perseveringly resolved to enforce these claims at every hazard. Fain would he have come out to join his countrymen in arms at the commencement of the contest ; but the peremptory order of his father enjoined his continuance in England, to prosecute his studies and finish his education. As a dutiful son, he obeyed these orders ; but as a patriot burning with desire to defend his country, he dismissed Coke, Littleton, and all the tribe of jurists, and substituted in their place Vauban, Folard, and other writers on war. He also availed himself of the excellent opportunities which London affords of acquiring practical knowledge of the manual exercise, of tactics, and the mechanism of war. Thus instructed, as soon as he was a freeman of legal age, he quitted England for France, and by a circuitous voyage in neutral vessels, and at a considerable risk, made his way good, in the year 1777, to Charleston.

“Independence had been declared—the American army was raised, officered, and in the field. He who, by his attainments in general science, and particularly in the military art, deserved high rank, had no ordinary door



left open to serve his country, but by entering in the lowest grade of an army abounding with officers. General Washington, ever attentive to merit, instantly took him into his family as a supernumerary aid-de-camp. Shortly after this appointment, he had an opportunity of indulging his military ardour. He fought and was wounded in the battle of Germantown, October 4th, 1777. He continued in General Washington's family, in the middle states, till the British had retreated from Philadelphia to New York, and was engaged in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

“After this, the war being transferred more northwardly, he was indulged in attaching himself to the army on Rhode Island, where the most active operations were expected soon to take place. There he was entrusted with the command of some light troops. The bravery and good conduct which he displayed on this occasion was honoured by Congress.

“On the 5th of November, 1778, they resolved, ‘that John Laurens, Esq. aid-de-camp to General Washington, be presented with a continental commission of lieutenant-colonel, in testimony of the sense which Congress entertain of his patriotic and spirited services

as a volunteer in the American army ; and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island, on the 29th of August last ; and that General Washington be directed, whenever an opportunity shall offer, to give Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens command agreeable to his rank.' On the next day, a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens was read in Congress, expressing ' his gratitude for the unexpected honour which Congress was pleased to confer on him by the resolution passed the day before ; and the high satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues in the family of the commander-in-chief—that having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore entreated Congress to suppress the resolve of yesterday, ordering him a commission of lieutenant-colonel, and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour.' In this relinquishment there was a victory gained by patriotism over self-love. Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens loved military

name and rank ; but he loved his country more, and sacrificed the former to preserve the peace and promote the interest of the latter.

“ In the next year the British directed their military operations chiefly against the most southern states. Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens was induced by double motives to repair to Carolina. The post of danger was always the object of his preference. His native state was become the theatre of war. To its aid he repaired, and in May, 1779, with a party of light troops, had a skirmish with the British at Tulifinny. In endeavouring to obstruct their progress towards Charleston, he received a wound. This was no sooner cured than he rejoined the army, and was engaged in the unsuccessful attack on Savannah, on the 9th of October of the same year. To prepare for the defence of Charleston, the reduction of which was known to be contemplated by the British, was the next object of attention among the Americans. To this Colonel Laurens devoted all the energies of his active mind.

“ In the progress of the siege, which commenced in 1780, the success of defensive operations became doubtful. Councils of war

were frequent—several of the citizens were known to wish for a surrender, as a termination of their toils and dangers. In these councils, and on proper occasions, Colonel Laurens advocated the abandonment of the front lines, and to retire to new ones to be erected within the old ones, and to risk an assault. When these spirited measures were opposed on the suggestion that the inhabitants preferred a capitulation, he declared that he would direct his sword to the heart of the first citizen who would urge a capitulation against the opinion of the commander-in-chief.

“When his superior officers, convinced of the inefficacy of further resistance, were disposed to surrender on terms of capitulation, he yielded to the necessity of the case, and became a prisoner of war. This reverse of fortune opened a new door for serving his country in a higher line than he ever yet had done. He was soon exchanged, and reinstated in a capacity for acting. In expediting his exchange, Congress had the ulterior view of sending him a special minister to Paris, that he might urge the necessity of a vigorous co-operation on the part of France with the United States against Great Britain. When

this was proposed to Colonel Laurens, he recommended and urged that Colonel Alexander Hamilton should be employed in preference to himself. Congress adhered to their first choice.

“Colonel Laurens sailed for France in the latter end of 1780, and there, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, and Count de Vergennes, and Marquis de Castries, arranged the plan of the campaign for 1781, which eventuated in the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and finally in a termination of the war. Within six months from the day Colonel Laurens left America, he returned to it, and brought with him the concerted plan of combined operations. Ardent to rejoin the army, he was indulged with making a verbal report of his negotiations to Congress; and in three days set out to resume his place as one of the aids of Washington. The American and French army about this time commenced the siege of York Town. In the course of it, Colonel Laurens, as second in command, with his fellow-aid, Colonel Hamilton, assisted in storming and taking an advanced British redoubt, which expedited the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. The articles of capitulation were

arranged by Colonel Laurens on behalf of the Americans.

“Charleston and a part of South Carolina still remained in the power of the British. Colonel Laurens thought nothing done while any thing remained undone. He therefore, on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, repaired to South Carolina, and joined the southern army commanded by General Greene. In the course of the summer of 1782, he caught a common fever, and was sick in bed when an expedition was undertaken against a party of the British, which had gone to Combakee to carry off rice. Colonel Laurens rose from his sick bed and joined his countrymen. While leading an advanced party, he received a shot, which, on the 27th of August, 1782, at the close of the war, put an end to his valuable life, in the 27th year of his age. His many virtues have been ever since the subject of eulogy, and his early fall, of national lamentation. The fourth of July seldom passes without a tribute to his memory.”

## THOMAS MIFFLIN,

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.

“THOMAS MIFFLIN, a major-general in the American army during the revolutionary war, and governor of Pennsylvania, was born in the year 1744, of parents who were Quakers. His education was intrusted to the care of the Rev. Dr. Smith, with whom he was connected in habits of cordial intimacy and friendship for more than forty years. Active and zealous, he engaged early in opposition to the measures of the British parliament. He was a member of the first Congress, in 1774. He took arms, and was among the first officers commissioned on the organization of the continental army, being appointed quartermaster-general in August, 1775. For this offence he was read out of the society of Quakers. In 1777, he was very useful in animating the militia, and enkindling the spirit which seemed to have been damped. His sanguine disposition, and his activity, rendered him insensible to the value of that coolness and caution which were essential to the preservation of

such an army as was then under the command of General Washington. In 1787, he was a member of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States, and his name is affixed to that instrument. In October, 1788, he succeeded Franklin as president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, in which station he continued till October, 1790. In September, a constitution for this state was formed by a convention, in which he presided, and he was chosen the first governor. In 1794, during the insurrection in Pennsylvania, he employed, to the advantage of his country, the extraordinary powers of elocution with which he was endowed. The imperfection of the militia laws was compensated by his eloquence. He made a circuit through the lower counties, and, at different places, publicly addressed the militia on the crisis in the affairs of their country, and through his animating exhortations the state furnished the quota required. He was succeeded in the office of governor by Mr. M'Kean, at the close of the year 1799, and he died at Lancaster, January 20, 1800, in the fifty-seventh year of his age."

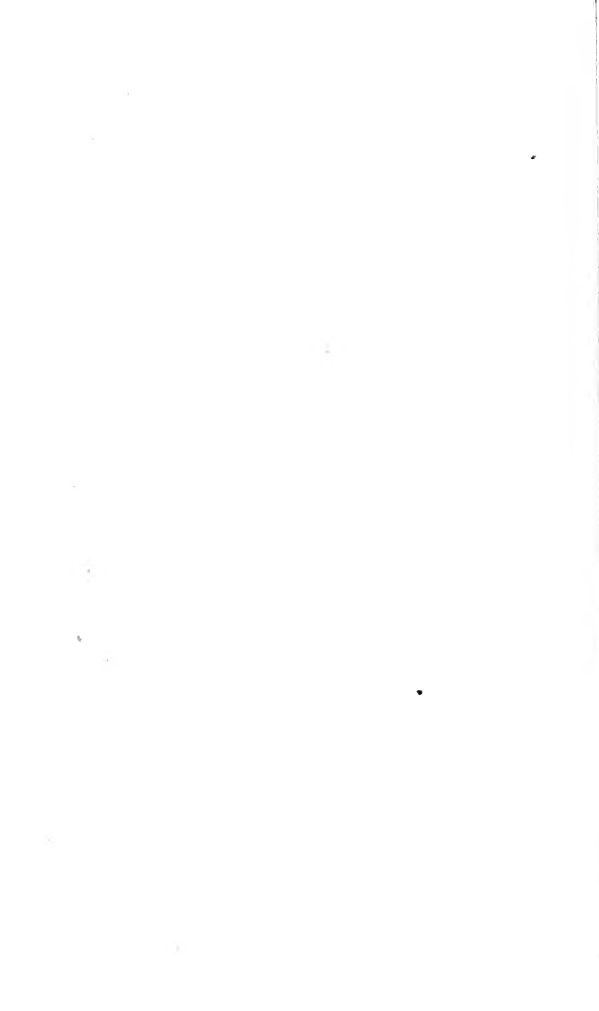
THE END.

















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